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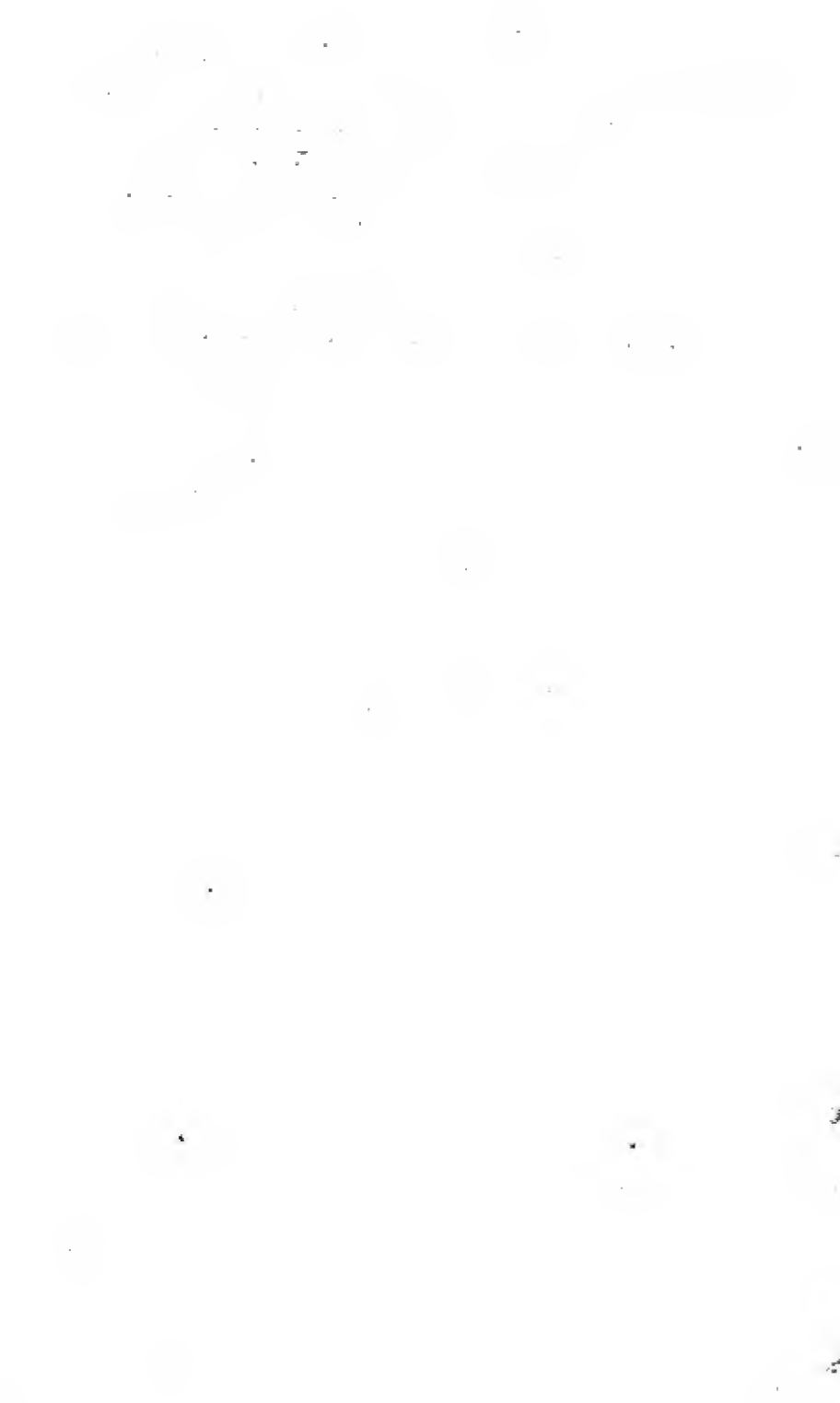
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• The Archaeological Journal.

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NOTICES OF ARMOUR IN THE MIDDLE AGES, AND ESPECIALLY OF A SERIES OF EARLY HELMETS PRESERVED IN THE ARMOURY AT PARHAM PARK, SUSSEX.

By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON.

FROM the earliest ages of which we have any historical account, the greatest expense which has been incurred by nations, and for which the heaviest taxes have been levied on the people, is the immense outlay necessary for the costly amusement of killing each other, and the consequent necessary precaution of defending ourselves from those who pass their lives in endeavouring to kill us.

Down to a very recent period the art of defence was superior to the art of offence ; it is only quite of late years that the science of mutual destruction has rendered castles and fortifications generally untenable, and defensive armour of no avail : the Gothic castle cannot resist the Armstrong gun, any more than the bravest Paladin could stand a minute against the Whitworth rifle. Things were different in the old times. It is entirely owing to the art of defence having been inferior to that of offence, that the wonderful victories were gained by the atrocious miscreants, Cortes and Pizarro, against the defenceless inhabitants of Mexico and Peru. In all hand-to-hand engagements, the man best defended by his armour is almost certainly the conqueror ; it is only when missiles are brought into play that the strong man armed finds himself on a level with the enemy of weaker body ; but, with the stronger mind, brute strength gives way before the keener intellect. Of this result no better

example can be given than that of David and Goliath, when the giant, in his complete panoply of brass, fell like a slaughtered ox before the skill of his youthful antagonist. The principles of the art of war changed entirely, not exactly with the invention of gunpowder, but as soon as fire-arms arrived at such a degree of precision in their manufacture as to make their effects more or less certain when brought into the field. This is another point to be considered in the history of arms. The gunpowder of the middle ages was imperfect; sometimes its strength was hardly more than sufficient to hurl the great stone ball a few hundred yards from the cannon, at other times, having been compounded according to that ancient system called the rule of thumb, it was too strong by half, and burst its gun, to the destruction of the artillerymen who loaded it. The same mishap occurs among the half-civilized nations of Asia and Africa, who make their own gunpowder and their own guns and pistols; these weapons sometimes, indeed very often, will not go off. I remember a traveller in Albania who had an altercation with his guide. "I have pistols," said the traveller. "So have I," said the guide. "Yes," said the traveller, "but mine are sure to go off if I pull the trigger, and yours may not." "Ah, that makes a difference," said the guide, who for the rest of the journey was much more civil than before. In India, Persia, and Koordistaun armour is still worn as a defence, and people feel secure within the high walls of their castles when they only expect to be attacked by a swarm of undisciplined cavalry, or by infantry armed with matchlock guns, or even by artillery loaded with gunpowder which is only fit for fireworks.

Many years ago I was dining in the refectory with the monks in the monastery of St. Katherine on Mount Sinai, when we heard a great noise of firing guns and shouting outside. I immediately inquired what it was, when a monk walked leisurely into the room, and said—"It is only the Gebeli tribe of Arabs firing at the walls because we will not give them any more bread;" so we went on with our dinner. The Arabs continued their attack for some time, till, being out of powder, or out of patience, they drew off, without having given the slightest alarm to the inhabitants of the fortified monastery. This I thought a curious instance of the practice of war according to the ancient method.

A short time before these same Arabs had laid a regular siege to the monastery. This ancient building, of the fifth century, with high and thick walls of granite, is situated in a desert valley ; there is no vegetation in the neighbourhood, except what is grown by the monks in a walled garden under the higher walls of the monastery itself. The Arabs in multitudes surrounded the beleaguered fortress (*more majorum*) after the ancient manner, and the monks looked at them out of the loop-holes high up from the ground : they were very snug inside, with plenty of food, no wine, because the Scripture admonition forbids Christians to get drunk with wine, but plenty of *arraghi*, or arrack, because that strong spirit not having been invented at the time, no mention is made thereof in Holy Writ. The Arabs outside were not so comfortable ; they had no arrack and but little food. Bread or corn had to be brought from the cultivated lands far off, moreover it had to be paid for, and money was scarce in the camp of the besiegers.

There was a tall cypress tree which grew in the garden near the monastery. The Arabs, waiting for a dark night, cut this tree down in such a way that it fell against the walls, and they swarmed up the tree, intending presently to chop up the monks into cabobs. A cunning monk, however, one of the church militant, was ready for them ; no sooner had the boughs of the tall cypress rested on the battlements of the monastery, than he tied a strong rope to the top of it, and waiting till the tree was full of Arabs, climbing silently one after the other to scale the walls, the monastic community, giving a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together in a sideways direction, brought the tree full of Arabs down with a crash upon the earth. How many Arabs were squashed, how many legs and arms were broken, does not appear ; but there was a great cry in the darkness of the night, some blood upon the ground, and the Arabs, giving up the siege as a bad job, mounted their camels and departed, sending soon afterwards some of their sheiks and old men ; these plenipotentiaries made a treaty with the monks, who agreed to give so many loaves of black bread whenever any of the tribe passed that way ; this bread was an abomination, never tasted by the monks themselves, and only possible to be swallowed (though not digested) by savages in a dreadful state of hunger and destitution. Even of this bread the

quantity doled out became less and less, which was the cause of the futile attack above mentioned.

I tell this story only as an example of a country where, at the present day, the military arts of attack and defence are not more advanced than they were 2300 years ago at the siege of Troy.

Knights, or horsemen in complete suits of chain armour, armed with lances and swords, may still be met with in the rocky defiles of Circassia, waging an unequal war against the Russians. The mountains of Kara Dagħ (the Black Mountains), on the shores of the Caspian Sea, are still famous for the manufacture of arms and armour, and I have myself often watched the progress of an old armourer at Erzeroom, who was celebrated for the excellence of the small round shields of steel still used by the robber hordes of Koor-distaun.

In all these lands the art of defence is still far in advance of the science of offence ; and, as in ancient times, the well-armed champion on his war horse can set at defiance almost any number of half-armed and undisciplined savages.

Defensive armour has been in constant use from the earliest dawn of history down to the present day in Asia, and down to the last century in Europe ; but, excepting a few pieces of Greek armour and still fewer pieces of Roman armour in bronze, the specimens of defensive armour which have been preserved were all included until a very recent time within a period of little more than 200 years.

It is not more than forty years ago when Sir Samuel Meyrick first awakened public attention in England to this subject. He published a book, illustrated by Skelton, describing his own magnificent collection at Goodrich Court. This work has since become the text book to which conservators of public museums and private collectors refer as the authority for the dates of all kinds of European arms and armour, and, as far as it goes, it is unequaled by any other publication for the information which it affords. The Meyrick collection, however, contained no specimen of armour more ancient than the middle of the fifteenth century, with the exception of one tilting helmet, of the fourteenth century, from Hereford Cathedral, which had formerly belonged to Sir Richard Pembridge, who died in 1375. All knowledge of the forms and peculiarities of more ancient armour was

derived solely from sculptures on the tombs of knights and nobles remaining in Cathedrals and parish churches both in England and abroad.

Since that time, and within the last ten or twelve years, several real specimens of very ancient armour have been brought to light, and they have found their way mostly into the armouries at the Tower and at Woolwich, or have been deposited in the collection formed at Grimston, Yorkshire, by the late Lord Londesborough, in the armoury at Warwick Castle, or in that at Parham Park. Some armour of the same early character, heretofore unknown, may likewise now be found in the Musée de l'Artillerie or in other collections at Paris, Copenhagen, and in some continental museums.¹ These rare specimens are of the greatest interest to artists and students of historical antiquities, and exactly resemble the representations on early tombs which have been so correctly drawn and described in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

In the collection formed by myself at Parham there are three complete suits of armour, of the dates respectively of 1160, 1250, and 1350, also three complete suits of Gothic armour with long pointed toes, prior to the year 1452, as well as many detached pieces of very early date, and several cross-hilted swords of the same period.

It is remarkable that an ancient knight's sword is perhaps the rarest of all the arms which have come down to our days, and this is the more singular, because every man in the middle ages wore one of those swords; from the great baron down to his most humble retainer, no one stirred without one, and there must have been thousands of such weapons, though so very few have been preserved.

It is to be observed, that almost all the early helmets, or heaulmes, which are described in the following pages, were made each for one particular knight or noble, according to his idea of what was suitable for his own wear; consequently, although the general type of the period when these ancient

¹ Two helmets obtained in this country have unfortunately been transferred to the Musée de l'Artillerie; one of these, stated to have been brought from a church near Faversham, and by some persons conjectured to have been worn

by King Stephen, is figured, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, vol. x. pl. 16. The second, a portion of a helmet of the times of Henry III., was likewise purchased in England for the Armoury at Paris.

pieces of armour were made is readily perceived, each particular specimen varies in its details, and no two helmets of the same date are exactly alike. In more recent times this was not the case; after the year 1500 there were great shops, where armour was sold by the "milliners," or armourers of Milan, and by others; and whole suits of armour are frequently found exactly like each other, as they were made for sale to the first comer, and not for any person in particular.

The reason why a series of early helmets is now presented to the reader without the addition of any other pieces of armour, is, because during the time of chain armour, from the year 1000 till the year 1300, the helmet was the only part of the armour which was made of plate. Although the chain mail was well calculated to resist the cut of a sword, it could not keep out the point of a lance given with the impetus of a charge from a mounted adversary; the body was defended from this attack by the shield, which was made of wood covered with leather and silk; it was not covered with steel till a much later period; at an earlier epoch it had been covered with brass. The chain armour was, I think, in most instances sewed on to a tunic of leather, and its pressure was kept off from the breast by a cuirass. A solitary fragment of one of these is in the possession of Mr. Eastwood, which was found in a stone coffin with the chain armour of a knight of the thirteenth century; it is made of two or three thicknesses of leather like that used for the soles of shoes, sewed together with leather thongs.

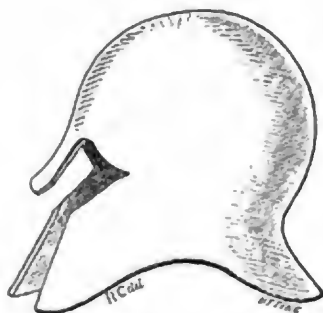
Between the years 1300 and 1400 the chain armour was much lighter, and pieces of plate were worn on the arms and legs. The gauntlets were not separated from the arm-pieces till the middle of the fourteenth century, and on the breast the cuirass of leather was replaced by an iron breast-plate without a back-plate. This was called a *plastron de fer*; the chain hauberk was no longer sewn to an under tunic of leather or canvas.

After the year 1400 suits of complete plate armour were universally worn, and numerous specimens are to be seen in all parts of Europe. But the extreme rarity of any pieces of defensive armour before that time, will, I hope, render even the present imperfect series of ancient helmets

acceptable to those who take an interest in military antiquities.

I will now proceed to describe in chronological order the helmets which are preserved in my collection at Parham.

I.—Greek Helmet of Bronze : one of three brought from the neighbourhood of Athens. Another, likewise at Parham, with engraved borders, and otherwise a beautiful specimen, is precisely of the same form, though it was found in a tomb in the south of Italy.



I.—Greek Helmet of bronze, brought from Athens.



II.—English Helmet; date about 1100.

II.—English Helmet, of hard steel, or perhaps of iron hammered hard when cold. It is of very good workmanship. This unique helmet was purchased at a sale in Oxfordshire. A representation of a helmet of this kind may be seen in the enameled plate which portrays Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, who died in 1149, figured in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*; also in a small tablet of gilt brass belonging to Lord Londesborough, found in the Temple Church, and figured, *Gent. Mag.* 1833; *Fairholt's Costume in England*, p. 118, second edit.; and the type occurs in several illuminated manuscripts. The date of this helmet is about the year 1100.

III.—Hood of Chain-mail. The rings are of the size of a fourpenny piece, and are not riveted; those round the face, and on the edge of the camail or tippet, are of brass. Another at Parham, without the camail, has part of the original leather lining still remaining. Date possibly about 1120.

IV.—Cylindrical Helmet with a close visor; it is in remarkable preservation. The two side pieces are riveted together, the top is not riveted, but welded on to the sides.



III.—Hood and camail of chain mail; date early in the twelfth century.

This, and the helmet next described, are, I believe, the only specimens extant in England of close helmets with flat tops. Date about 1150. Another was sold by Mr. Eastwood to a dealer at Paris.

V.—Cylindrical Helmet with a close visor. The top is slightly convex, with a Maltese cross embossed upon the crown. The top of this helmet is riveted to the sides. It is much smaller than the last specimen. Date about 1190.

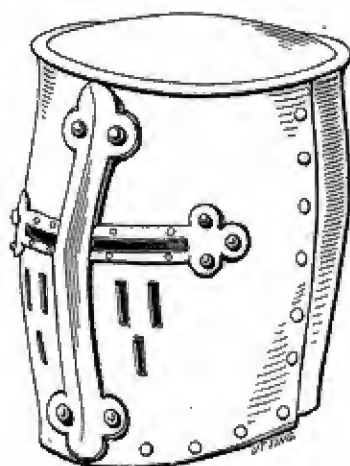
At Warwick Castle there is a flat-topped cylindrical helmet, with the aventaille, found at Eynsford Castle, Kent. Engraved, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. vi. p. 443.

VI.—Cylindrical Helmet of the thirteenth century. The face open. It has had a visor or aventaille opening with a hinge on the left side; it has upon the crown a cross with a circle on the centre, embossed; the sides are made of one piece, the seam meeting in front, where it is covered with a bar in the form of a cross, riveted on. The ring at the back appears to be more modern than the helmet, although it must have been added at a remote period.

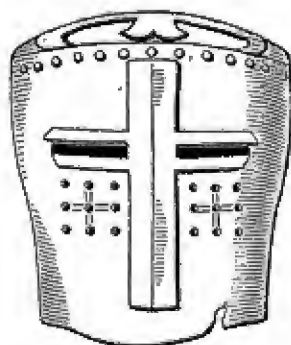
There seem to be four specimens of helmets of this kind in this country, viz.

1. At the Tower Armoury, much resembling that at Parham; it has the aventaille. Described in this *Journal*, vol. viii. p. 420. See woodcut at the close of this memoir.

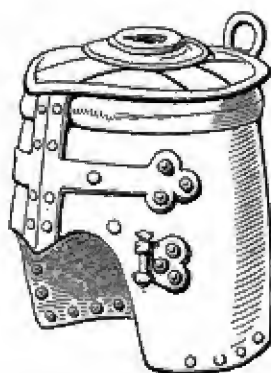
2. At Grimston, in Lord Londesborough's Armoury. The aventaille wanting. It has the remains of a camail of very large rings. This helmet has a ring upon the crown. It has been engraved by Mr. Fairholt, *Miscellanea Graphica*, plate vii., and *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. x. pl. 16.



IV.—Cylindrical Helmet with a close visor; date about 1150.

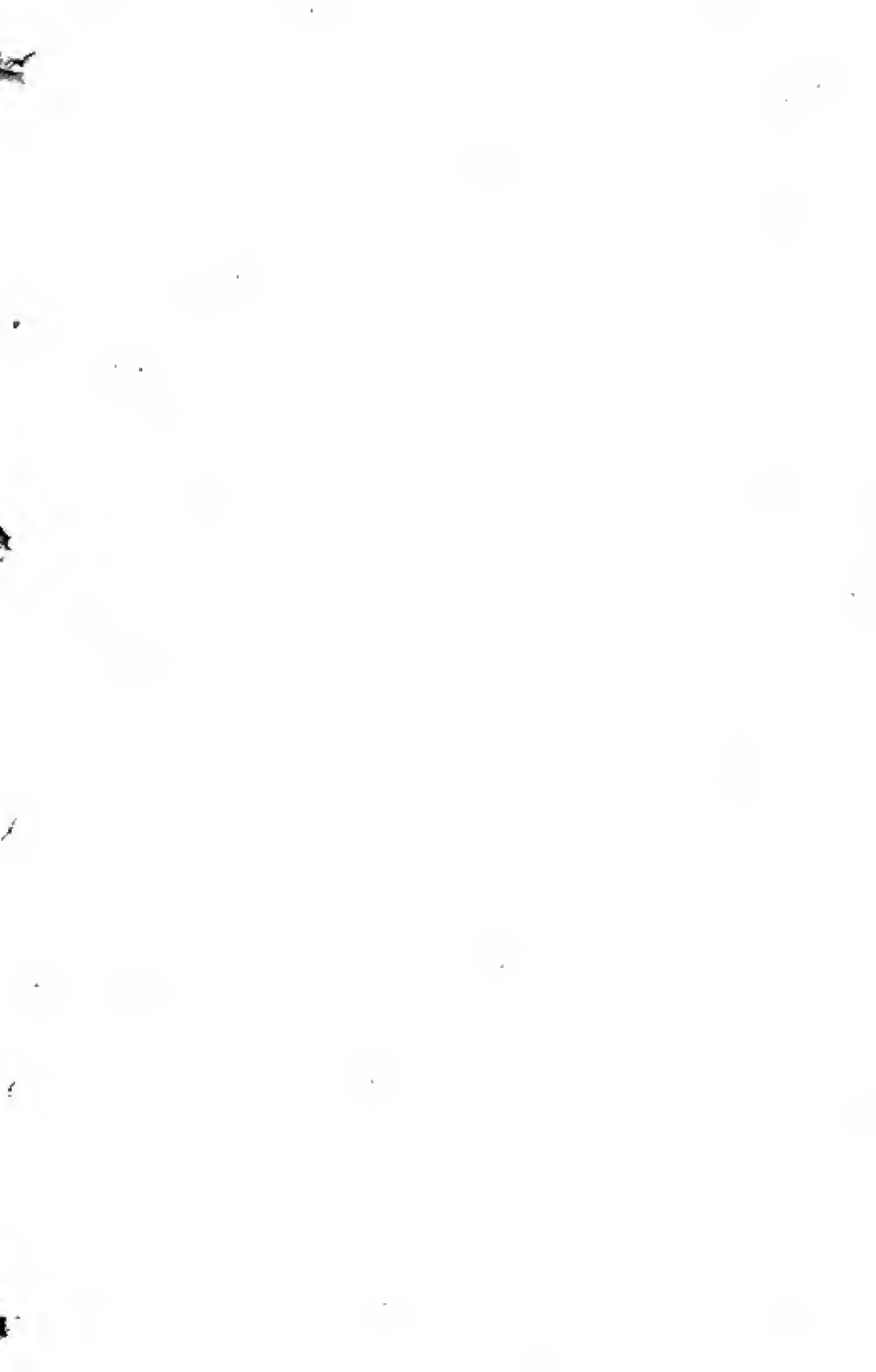


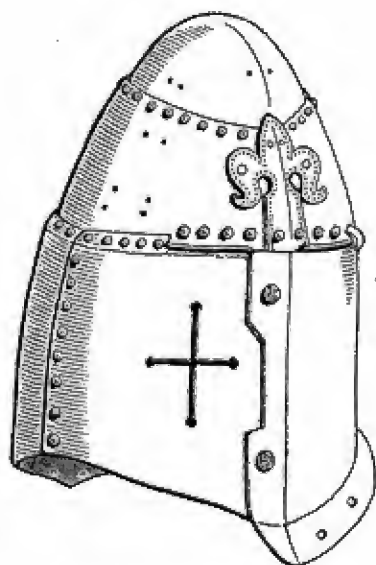
V.—Cylindrical Helmet with a close visor;
date about 1190.



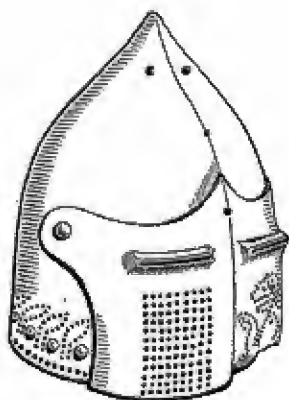
VI.—Cylindrical Helmet; date thirteenth
century.







VII.—Tilting Helmet; date fourteenth century.



VIII.—Basinet with a visor; date about 1310.

3. A Helmet in the Tower Armoury, with a nasal to which a mentonnière of mail was attached by a hook.

4. The Helmet here figured.

VII.—Tilting Helmet, an extraordinary and fine specimen, with an extra moveable plate on the left side, which is probably unique, although often seen in illuminated MSS. This helmet was originally painted red, and I believe that armour before the end of the fifteenth century was frequently painted in Germany and England. In Italy, and also in warmer and more luxurious countries, the old surcoat was superseded by covering the armour with silk and velvet. There is a helmet of the fifteenth century in the Tower Armoury (a *salade*), and another belonging to Lord Londesborough covered with its original paint. At Parham there are three covered with red velvet, one japanned black, and another gilt; all of these being *salades* of the fifteenth century. This would account for the figures in colored armour seen in painted glass, illuminations, and monumental effigies painted in bright colors.

There seem to be five specimens extant of this kind of Tilting helmet in England, viz.—

1. The specimen here figured.

2. The Helmet of Edward the Black Prince, hanging over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. He died in 1376. Engraved in Stothard's Monumental Effigies.

3. The Helmet of Sir Richard Pembridge, in the Meyrick Collection. He died in 1375. Skelton's Engraved Illustrations, vol. i., plate xi.

4. One in the Tower Armoury.

5. Another at the Tower. These two are, however, not so fine as the three first.

A very fine specimen of this kind of helmet was sold by Mr. Pratt to a dealer at Paris some years ago. Figured, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, vol. vii. p. 161.

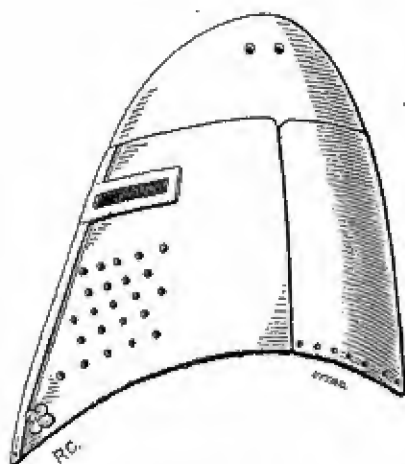
VIII.—Basinet with a visor. Date *c.* 1310. An equestrian figure on the tomb of Aymer de Valence, in Westminster Abbey, has a helmet of this character; it was worn without a *camail*, but with a tippet of mail attached to a steel collar round the neck. The specimen here figured is of very hard steel. On the visor is a demi-lion rampant; round the lower edges are representations of feathers, drilled through the cold steel, not punched when hot. This is the most

ancient basinet known to me, and I am not aware that any other specimen exists.

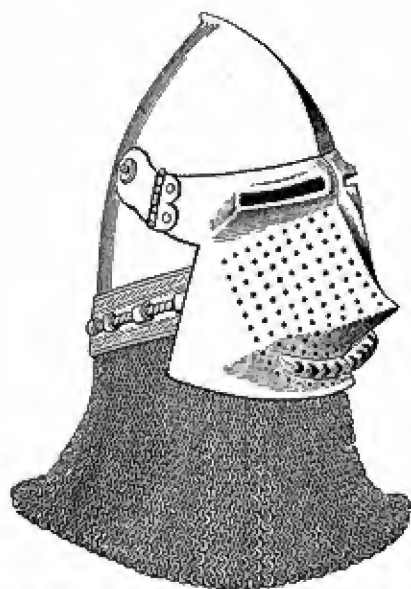
IX.—Tilting Helmet. Date *c.* 1325. A helmet of this kind is represented with the effigy of Sir William de Staunton. He died in 1326. See Stothard's Monumental Effigies. I know of no other specimen, and suppose this to be unique. Helmets of this fashion are constantly seen in sculptures and illuminations of the fourteenth century.

X.—Basinet, with pointed visor and camail. This basinet is a modern fabrication, the peculiar visor and the camail are, however, ancient. This type of helmet is of such great rarity, that I hope I may be excused for giving a wood-cut and description of it, although part of the present specimen is certainly not genuine. At the same time it is not quite modern; it was obtained from the north of Italy, and perhaps was a funereal helmet, made up to hang over a monument in a church. The camail was not brought with it, and is, I believe, unique; this is of the date of the end of the fourteenth century, the rings being riveted and smaller than those of an earlier period. The rings are larger and stronger at the upper part, and lighter on the lower part, where the camail rested upon the armour of the shoulders. The mode in which it is fastened to the basinet is curious; it is kept in its place by a cord, which passes through a row of staples, or *vervilles*, over a piece of leather, as may be seen on the effigy of Edward the Black Prince and numerous monuments in various churches. The only three specimens of this helmet in England are, one from Westphalia belonging to Lord Londesborough; figured by Mr. Fairholt, *Miscell. Graph.*, pl. xxxv.; one in the Tower, from the Brocas Collection, and the one in the Meyrick collection, but neither has a camail. There is a helmet also in the Tower Armoury with a solid gorget, in the form of a camail. It belonged to Sir Richard de Abberbury of Donnington Castle, Berkshire, *temp.* Rich. II., as stated in this Journal, vol. ix., p. 93. See woodcut at the close of this memoir.

Basinets were in universal use throughout Europe during the whole of the fourteenth century. In England, they were usually worn without a visor. Of these, examples are to be seen at Warwick Castle, and in the Meyrick collection. On the Continent they are more numerous. Several specimens exist in the Musée de l'Artillerie at Paris; in

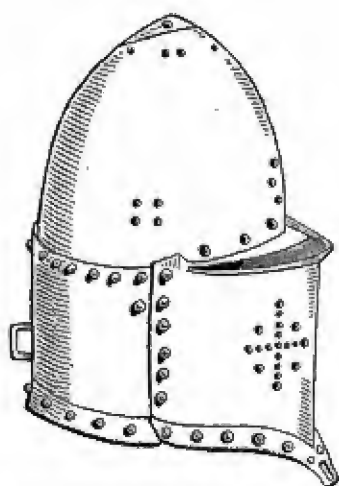


IX.—Tilting Helmet; date about 1325.

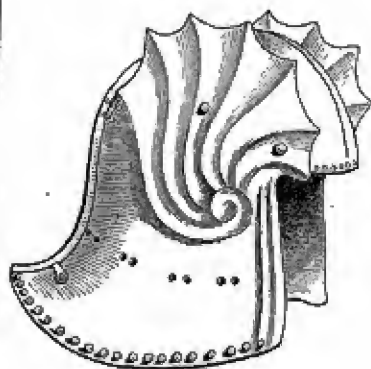


X.—Italian Basinet with pointed visor and carmail; date about the close of the fourteenth century.





XI.—Tilting Helmet; date about 1380.



XIII.—German Salade; date about 1430.

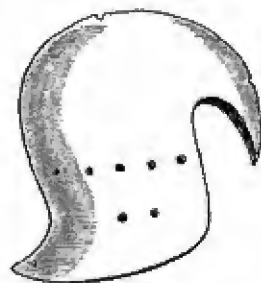


XIV.—Venetian Salade; date about 1450.

the Castle of Ambras in the Tyrol; and in private collections, to which they have been added at enormous prices.

XI.—Tilting Helmet. Date 1380. I have never seen any other helmet precisely like this; but I imagine, from its high crown and general character, that it must belong to the latter part of the fourteenth century. The holes at the top are for fixing on the crest; the large staple at the back is for the support of the lambrequins or mantelet, seen in heraldic drawings; and also, with the staple in front, for fastening the helmet firmly to the back and breast-plate, with sufficient security to resist the blow of the lance upon the forehead.¹

XII.—Venetian helmet with a nasal. Date about 1390 (?). This is a transition between a basinet and a salade. It has a sharp ridge on the top, and seems to have been worn with a camail affixed inside the helmet, or with a mentonnière. There is a hole in the crown, for fixing on a plume or a crest.



XII.—Venetian Helmet with a nasal; date about 1390.

XIII.—German Salade. Date 1430. This curious helmet belongs to the Gothic armour with long pointed feet which was used in the fifteenth century. The winged sides are joined to the back with hinges, and fastened by a strap behind. It is difficult to know what the object of this peculiar construction can have been, as the helmet, being open and very wide, could be readily put upon the head without any further opening. It has an aperture on the top for affixing the crest, and a row of small holes for sewing on the lining; there is a set of holes, two and two together, which may have served in the attachment of a camail. This is altogether a very singular specimen of that quaint style of armour called in French "*armure à la poulaine*."

¹ In Cobham Church, Kent, there is a helmet of this character, but the upper part is of different fashion, low and slanting off obliquely from the *ocularium*. It has a ring in front, and a hook behind; on the apex there are four small

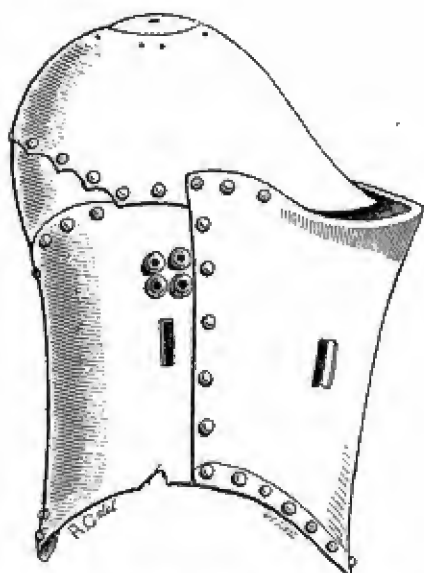
staples for affixing the crest. It may have belonged to Sir Thomas de Cobham, who died 1396. Figured, *Catal. of Exhibition at Ironmongers' Hall, 1861*, p. 157. The tilting helmet of Henry V. in Westminster Abbey is also given, p. 145.

XIV.—Venetian Salade. Date 1450.

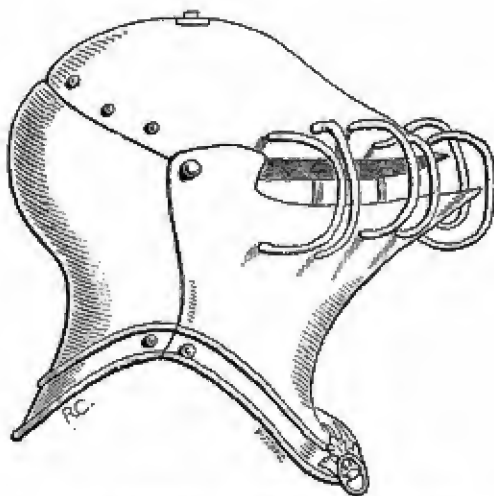
This helmet retains its original covering of crimson velvet with arabesque ornaments of gilt metal, of a perfectly oriental character. This kind of head-piece, the most beautiful and most useful of all the mediæval helmets, was worn all through the south of Europe, during the end of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century. It seems, from the illuminations in manuscripts, to have been generally covered with colored velvet, or gilt and richly ornamented with a wreath, crest, and plumes. There are seven specimens at Parham; one of these is japanned or enameled black, one is gilt, one only seems to have been worn in polished steel; the rest are, or have been, covered with velvet. One, which belonged to the "Generale di mare," or Admiral, Antonio Canal, who commanded the Venetian fleet at a battle off Negropont in the year 1450, has its original quilted lining, as well as the covering of red velvet; the ornaments, probably of silver gilt, have been torn off. Some of these helmets are short, like the present specimen; others are long covering the neck down to the shoulders. It was a privilege in the great days of the Venetian Republic, that any distinguished noble might hang his helmet and sword in the hall of his ancestral palace. A few may still be seen, supported on large arms of carved wood projecting from the walls. They are placed on each side of an elaborately carved and gilt frame, containing the family arms, being a more artistic and dignified form of the "hatchment" which is hung over the door of the house after a funeral in this country.

XV.—Tilting Helmet. Date about the year 1420.

This helmet is the immediate predecessor of those used in Germany and other countries in the reign of the Emperor Maximilian, a specimen of which is engraved in this Journal, vol. xxi., p. 60. It will be observed that the height of the crown in the present example is greater than that of the helmets of the Maximilian period, although in the general form it much resembles them. The four holes on each side, above the ears, are for the purpose of tying the ends of cords attached to a strong wadded cap, which was worn inside the tilting helmet, and which was secured by that means in its place in the centre of the helmet, and prevented the head of the wearer from a concussion against the inside, which it did not touch in any part. A single specimen of the cap with



XV.—Tilting Helmet; date about 1430.



XVI.—Tilting Helmet of copper gilt; Date about 1490.



this curious arrangement of cords exists in the Ambras collection at Vienna. This helmet was fastened to the breast and back-plates by one screw and four straps, two in front and two behind. These were superseded in the Maximilian helmets by bolts and fastenings of iron, which gave a greater security to the helmet but less security to the knight who wore it; a strong blow with the lance would knock off this helmet, but the wearer went with it over his horse's crupper. In the Maximilian tournaments, the curious contrivance of the wadded cap, added to the thickness of the helmet (and the skull) saved the knight from the otherwise inevitable concussion of the brain when he was hurled with such violence to the ground in this tremendous horse-play.

XVI.—Tilting Helmet. Date about 1490.

This helmet is of unusual size and weight; it is made of copper gilt. Helmets of this form were used in Germany, and indeed everywhere, at tournaments, before and during the reign of the Emperor Maximilian. One almost similar to the specimen at Parham, here figured, hangs in the hall at Bramshill in Hampshire. Tilting helmets of the Maximilian period are to be seen in the Tower Armoury, the Arsenal at Woolwich, the Meyrick collection, and in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. On the Continent there are numerous specimens, in national and other collections.

Armour of brass or copper was not uncommon in the middle ages. The reason why so few specimens remain is because they were melted down for the value of the metal. Chaucer, in his description of the equipment of Sir Thopas, mentions "his helm of latoun bright;" the hard mixed metal resembling brass being commonly called at that period *laten*, in French *laiton*.

The gauntlets of Edward the Black Prince, suspended over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, are of copper or *laten*. There are several complete suits of brass armour and two of silver at Dresden. The armour of the Duc de Sully at Paris is, as I believe, of copper. I have a chanfron for a horse's head and a long gauntlet for the right arm, which probably belonged to the Sultan Saladin; these are of copper heavily gilt. Some years ago I saw at Naples the fragments of an ancient Greek shirt of mail of brass.

EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL HELMETS.



Cylindrical Helmet; thirteenth century. Tower Armoury.



Visored Basinet; temp. Richard II. Tower Armoury.

ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE LAW OF "TREASURE-TROVE."

By THOMAS GODFREY FAUSSETT, ESQ., F.S.A.

SOME interest has been lately again excited upon the law of "Treasure-Trove," and more than one scheme has been propounded for its amendment. I hope that, in a matter about which much misunderstanding still prevails, a few remarks explanatory and suggestive may prove not unacceptable.

A short sketch of the history of this franchise will perhaps be the best way of arriving at its present law, and may also present some points of archæological interest in itself.

I. To begin, then, *ab ovo*.

A rude state of commerce, or an unsettled condition of society, will always addict itself to consigning treasure to the simple and obvious security of burial. Even with ourselves this habit seems to have continued down to quite a modern date, and to an extent which we of this commercial and speculative century are little apt to realise.¹ The owner of a few savings had not always the opportunity, if he had the spirit, to trade with them, or risk them in a "venture": usury was long restrained by many laws, and loans protected by few: and, even in times of peace and comparative safety, the resource of the slothful Hebrew servant in the parable must always and everywhere have borne a large proportion to the trading energy of the other two. In time of war or excitement there was

¹ The reader of the Diary of Samuel Pepys, for instance, cannot fail to have been struck with his practice of keeping all his capital, sometimes 2000*l.* or 3000*l.*, in his own house; and will remember the very amusing account of its burial by his wife and father, when the Dutch fleet was in the Medway (Diary,

June to October, 1667). He hides his goods in the same way during the great fire; and to keep such hoards and to bury them in emergencies was, no doubt, up to that day at least, the common practice of a well-to-do English householder.

no other alternative. Such a hider has only to die with his secret untold, or some landmark on which he has relied has only to be removed, and there lies his hoard for the chance discovery of future ages.

There is a second element of our subject-matter, in the superstition which led almost every religion of antiquity to bury with its dead their personal ornaments or other valuable possessions. These, some of the most ancient deposits of treasure, often forming nearly the sole records of the times from which they date, and only within the last century at all appreciated or scientifically approached, are, for these reasons, if not always the most intrinsically valuable, certainly always among the most interesting and instructive of the discoveries with which our subject treats, and, though not uncommonly overlooked in the discussion, claim in reality a foremost consideration in any dealing with the *vetusta quæstio* of Treasure-Trove.

Other ways, too, exist in which hiding may take place, so as to bring the things hidden under this franchise, all which may be generally referred to the chapter of accidents. The two which I have mentioned may be considered, in these latitudes at least, where earthquakes and eruptions are unknown, the principal origins of deposits of this nature.

The hasty departure of the Romans left in our own country² so much of this precarious wealth that it seems to have influenced Saxon legislation upon the subject. "In nono anno," says the chronicler Æthelwerd,³ "post eversionem Romæ a Gothis, relictī qui erant in Britannīā Romanā ex gente, multiplices non ferentes gentium minas, scrobibus

² Perhaps our earliest intimation of a national law upon the subject is of that of the Jews, and is to be found in our Lord's Parable of the hidden treasure, "which when a man hath found, he hideth, and goeth and selleth all that he hath and buyeth that field" (Matt. xiii. 44). The Jews then gave nothing to the finder, and all to the landlord.

The Roman law varied upon this point at different periods. Constantine I., in A.D. 315, gave treasure found to the Treasury, but returned half to the finder if brought spontaneously (*Codex Theodosianus ad verb. "Theaurus"*). Gratian, in A.D. 380, vested it in the finder, with the stipulation that, if he

were not the landlord, he should give the landlord one quarter. Valentinian II., ten years later, gave all unreservedly to the finder. But Justinian lays down a different law, which he attributes to Hadrian (*Justin. Inst. lib. ii. tit. i.*), giving half to the landlord and half to the finder; and this appears to have remained from his time the Roman law. We find this too the law of the Code Napoleon, and still existing, I believe, as well in some other countries, where I presume the metallic value of the treasure found is still alone thought worthy of legal consideration.

³ Lib. i. ad an. 418.

occultant thesaurum, aliquam sibi futuram existimantes fortunam; quod illis postea non accidit." And down to our own day these Roman hoards have been constantly coming to light. So numerous, and often so valuable, they could not long escape the King's hands, and we find them early established as a royal right. Whereas they had been "primi inventoris, quasi totius populi; jure naturali," they now became the King's, "jure gentium (as it was easy afterwards to explain it); quia Rex non modo totius populi, sed reipublicæ etiam, caput est."⁴ At what period of Saxon rule this first became part of the statute law does not appear. It is not so extant till those laws called Edward the Confessor's, compiled by the Saxons, and in a manner forced upon William after the Conquest. These ordain:⁵

"Thesauri de terrâ regis sunt, nisi in ecclesiâ aut in cimiterio inveniantur. Et si ibiveniuntur, aurum est regis: et si argentum, dimidium est regis et dimidium ecclesiæ ubi inventum fuerit."

Here the wording of the statute, and the absence of any definition of treasure except what is very plainly indicated in the mention of gold and silver only, imply that it was a well-known and established law before the Conquest;⁶ and

⁴ Bracton, lib. iii. c. 3.

⁵ Legg. Edw. Conf. § xiv.

⁶ In the extant charters of grant by the Saxon kings, the gift of the right of hidden treasure very rarely occurs,—never, Mr. Kemble tells us,—but is very common under the name of "ealle hordas bufan eorðan and binnan eorðan," among the Saxon "general words" in the grants of the first Norman kings; the Saxon phraseology clearly showing that it existed before the Conquest as a distinct right in some one. Its want of earlier mention is accounted for by Mr. Kemble, "by the supposition that such rights were so inherent in the possession of land as not to require particularisation; but that under the Normans, when every right and privilege must be struggled for, and the consequences of the Norman love of litigation were bitterly felt, it became matter of necessity to have them not only tacitly recognised, but solemnly recorded" (Cod. Dip. Æv. Sax. Introd. pp. xliii, xlv).

But I cannot help doubting this explanation. The right of Treasure-Trove, as we have seen, was not, even in the earliest times, "inherent in the pos-

session of land," but was in the finder: and these very words, "ealle hordas bufan eorðan and binnan eorðan," overlooked by Mr. Kemble, do actually form one of the rights granted by a Saxon Royal Charter in his own collection, that of Eadgar to Glastonbury Abbey in the year 971 (Cod. Dip. Æv. Sax. No. 567, vol. iii. p. 67). May we not rather suppose this right to have become early an acknowledged prerogative of the Saxon Crown, as we know it to have been under Edward the Confessor, and account for its scarce mention in Saxon grants by remembering the difference in tenure of land under the two rules? The land of a Saxon was his own absolutely; and the king, claiming neither lordship over it nor service from it, was the less likely to include in any grant a right thus quite distinct from the land granted,—a mere prerogative of his crown,—a right which was not a rent from the landowner, but a tribute from the finder; not rendered to him as still supreme lord of the soil, but simply as king. Where a lord paramount may easily give up his franchise to a tenant, a king will not be so ready to give away his prerogative to a subject;

there can be little doubt that to this grafting of Saxon on Feudal law we owe it that the claim of the English Crown on Treasure-Trove is to this day less comprehensive—as embracing gold and silver (and coin) only—than in other countries where the claim has its origin solely in the Feudal system.

The laws of Henry I.⁷ give “thesaurus inventus,” without further explanation, in a list of the “Jura quæ Rex Angliæ solus et super omnes homines habet in terrâ suâ.”⁸ Glanville, writing in the reign of Henry II., gives us the first mention of the crime of “concealment of Treasure-Trove,” “occultatio inventi thesauri fraudulosa,” then referable to trial by duel or ordeal, and punishable by death or loss of limb, as a “crimen læsæ majestatis.”⁹ He implies treasure to include “aliquod genus metalli.”

But for the first actual definition of “thesaurus” as a right of the English Crown, we must pass on to Bracton, who wrote in Henry III.’s reign, and who gives it thus:—“Quædam vetus depositio pecuniæ vel alterius metalli, cujus non extat modo memoria, ut jam dominum non habeat.”¹¹ It will be observed, however, that these definitions, which seem to have been borrowed from the Roman law, are wider than were either before or after this time received in England.

The statute of Edward I., “De placitis Coronæ,” is more explicit on the general subject, though again giving no definition of “Treasure.” It is thus given by Britton,² and

and it is a significant fact that the only such grant on record by a Saxon king should have been made to the great and favoured Abbey of Glastonbury. I cannot help thinking it clear, that what under the Saxon rule was a prerogative of the king, grew under the feudal system, as in other countries where it prevailed, to be treated as a right or liberty of the lord paramount; and in this form became so constantly included in the grants of the Norman kings, who, content with the service which acknowledged them the supreme lords of the soil, would give up all other rights over lands to the petty and dependent princes whom it was the essence of the feudal system to create.

⁷ Legg. Hen. I. cap. 10.

⁸ In the same list occurs the Saxon word “fynderinga,” and this, owing no doubt to the similarity of the Saxon “r”

(1) to a Norman or Latin “n,” has been, it appears, constantly read “fynderinga,” and is even so spelt in one MS. of these laws among the Cottonian collection. Spelman (Gloss. ad. verb.) and others, reading it “fynderinga,” have conjectured it to be the Saxon name of the king’s privilege in “treasure-trove;” and even Sir Edward Coke has adopted this conjecture (Inst. iii. p. 132). But “fynderinga” is no doubt the correct reading, and is otherwise interpreted: and the existence, as I have said, of another Saxon phrase for “hidden treasure,” as well as the mention of “thesaurus inventus” in this same list of rights,—both seem to imply that, even if “fynderinga” be correct, this is not its meaning.

⁹ Lib. i. cap. 2, and lib. xiv. cap. 2.

¹ Lib. iii. cap. 3.

² Cap. 17.

here we first find the present Norman-French name. I give the passage, however, in the standard translation :—

"Concerning Treasure found concealed in the earth (*Tresor musce en terre trove*), wrecks, waifes, sturgeons, whales, and other things found, which of right belong to, and are detained from Us; let careful enquiry be made after them, and of the names of those who found them, and to whose hands they came, and what they are worth; for our pleasure is that Treasure found hidden in the earth shall belong to us, but if found in the sea it shall belong to the finder. Let those also who found it buried, forthwith inform the Coroner of the county or Bailiffs thereof, and it is the Coroner's duty, to go without delay, and enquire whether any of it has been carried off, and by whom, and to save all that can be found for our use; and those who carried it off shall be delivered to mainprize until the Eyre of the Justices: and if our Justices find that those who carried it off did it with a bad design, they shall be punished by imprisonment and fine, but if without any such design, they shall be amerced only."

The coroner's duties in this matter of the crime of "concealment of Treasure-Trove" are more fully laid down in another statute of Edward I., "*De Officio Coronatoris*."³ He was, in fact, a detective in the business.

The author of "*Fleta*," writing in the same reign, thus describes this crime.⁴ "*Est autem quædam species criminis, quæ presumptuosa est mali, mortem tamen non inducit, licet carceris inclusionem gravemque redemptionem,—quæ est inventio thesauri fraudulenter occultata.*" So since Henry II.'s reign its punishment had come down from death or loss of limb to what it now remains, fine and imprisonment.

It must be remembered, however, that in all these years the Norman kings had been granting away their franchise in many manors with which they had endowed subjects; and that, in these, the right of the Crown meant, in fact, the right of the Crown's grantee, the lord of the manor.

And now we come to Sir Edward Coke, whose lucid and authoritative statement I give nearly at full length :—

"Treasure-Trove is where any gold or silver, in coin, plate, or bullion,⁵ hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property; it doth belong to the King, or to some lord or other by the King's grant or prescription. The reason wherefore it belongeth to the King is a rule of the common law, that such goods

³ Stat. 4 Edw. I. 1276. Cotton. MS.
Vesp. B. 7.

⁴ Lib. I. cap. 43.

⁵ "Plate or bullion," i.e., "worked or unworked."

whereof no person can claim property belong to the King, as wrecks, strays, &c. *Quod non capit Christus, capit Fiscus.* And now let us peruse this description—

“Gold or silver.—For if it be of any other metall it is no treasure, and if it be no treasure, it belongeth not to the King, for it must be treasure-trove. It is to be observed that reyns of gold and silver in the grounds of subjects belong to the King by his prerogative, for they are royall mines, but not of any other metall whatsoever in subjects' grounds.

“Wheresoever hidden.—Whether it be of ancient time hidden in the ground, or in the roof or walls or other part of a castle, house, building, ruins, or elsewhere, so as the owner cannot be known.

“Whereof no person can prove any property.—For it is a certain rule, *Quod thesaurus non competit regi, nisi quando nemo scit qui abscondit thesaurum.*”⁶

Thus much Sir Edward Coke ; and this, resting on the highest possible authority, is (with the amendment lately added to it by Sir George Lewis's “Circular to the Police”) the present law of the subject.

We may well pass over other writers till we come to Blackstone, whose commentary on the law of this subject has been sometimes a little misunderstood. After stating the law plainly, and almost exactly as Sir Edward Coke had stated it, as quoted above, he proceeds :—“So that it seems it is the *hiding*, and not the *abandoning* of it that gives the King a property.” And, farther on :—“It was judged expedient to allow part of what was found to the King, which part was assigned to be all *hidden* treasure. Such as is casually lost and unclaimed, and also such as is designedly abandoned, still remaining the right of the fortunate finder.”⁷

It has been supposed by some that this his definition of the King's right is intended to exclude—or at all events *would* exclude—many buried objects, as, for instance, the contents of graves, as being “abandoned.” But such is not Blackstone's meaning : such discoveries must obviously come under his first category of “hidden.” He is, too, it must be remembered, in these words explaining merely—assigning what *seems* (he qualifies it with the word “seems,”) a broad motive and reason for the law which he has just plainly stated, and not by any means stating actual law. And his explanation amounts to this :—The argument of the law, in thus giving treasure found hidden to the King,

⁶ Inst. iii. p. 132.

⁷ Comm. vol. I. p. 297.

and that not hidden to the finder, appears to be that it assumes (as in most cases it may assume) hidden treasure to have been hidden with an object, not to have been originally meant to be finally abandoned; while treasure lying on the surface, and unclaimed, may well be considered to have been placed there ignorantly; or, if knowingly, to have been really thrown away and finally abandoned. This, he would say, seems to be the broad and general supposition on which the law has been framed, and which may account to us for a distinction having been made; but that it is law, or even that in particular cases the supposition will always hold good, or that, if not, the law is to bend to suit this view of its probable origin, is an interpretation which Blackstone certainly never meant to be put upon his words.⁸

And, lastly, we come to Sir George Lewis's well-known "Circular to the Police," issued in 1860, which authorised "the payment to finders of ancient coins, gold and silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity, of the actual value of the articles, on the same being given up for the behoof of the Crown:" and proceeded,—"In all cases where it shall come to the knowledge of the police that such articles have been found, and that the persons having found them refuse or neglect to give them up, Sir George Lewis desires that measures may be taken for their recovery." This was no doubt a step in the right direction. Its only object was the public advantage; and it was founded upon much justice, good sense, and liberality, as anything of such authorship could not fail to be. But, unfortunately, owing to one or two inherent defects, it has, as is generally admitted, missed its object, and contributed to complicate the difficulty which it sought to remove. Its great defects

⁸ I have been anxious to leave no doubt upon this point, because it has been sometimes asserted, and lately with some prominence, that treasure found in graves, as in these days it is so often found, cannot be claimed under this franchise; and these words of Blackstone have been cited in proof of the assertion.

The truth is, with respect to graves, that it has not always been contemplated that they would be rifled to the extent to which we, in the cause of science, now rifle them; and, although our law most clearly includes such discoveries in its

plain words, "treasure found hidden in the earth," writers upon the law have not always had an opportunity of appreciating the full scope of its words. Blackstone's explanation is thus based upon a faulty and inexact division of the subject. That it was, however, really contemplated that these plain words of the law did, and should include treasure found in graves, we may infer with some certainty from our very oldest statute law extant on the subject, which embraces, as I have quoted, treasure found "*in ecclesiâ vel cimiterio*."

I take to be these :—1. That, in asserting the claim of the Crown to *all* “relics of antiquity” (and not to gold, silver, and coins, only), it claimed, as we have seen, too much, and perplexed the question. And, 2. That, in the absence of any expression of intention as to what would become of treasure so consigned to Government, it generated a suspicion and ill-feeling which ~~was~~ quite unnecessary, and which the new feature of the employment of the police in the matter was perhaps not calculated to lessen. Its result has been, undoubtedly, that the law has been quite as industriously evaded as ever. And though, in the well known Hastings case the offenders⁹ were caught, and most deservedly punished ; and in other cases, as for instance in the Eccles case, the finder received from Government (rather tardily, it is true) the full intrinsic value of his discovery ; there can be no doubt that enough has not yet been done to place the law upon its proper footing, or to give the public the full advantage of it.

Before, then, we proceed to think of the future, let there be no doubt of the law of the question. The Crown, or its occasional grantee, claims *all gold, silver, and coin found buried or hidden*. The finder claims *everything else, i. e., gold, silver, or coin found not hidden* ; and all other discoveries, whether found hidden or not (provided, of course, in every case no owner can be found). The very prevalent impression that landlords can claim, and the exaggerated ideas of the rights of lords of manors, are errors that cannot be too diligently eradicated.¹

⁹ Not the comparatively innocent finder, as has been supposed, who erred in ignorance both of the law and of the value of his discovery, and was much “more sinned against than sinning ;” but the rogues who robbed both him of his price and the public of their relics, and who might to great advantage have served their full term of sentence at the treadmill, from which a mistaken kindness (must we not think ?) relieved them.

¹ The claim of finders as against landlords is well illustrated by the case of *Bridges v. Hawksworth*. 21 L. J. N. S. Q. B. 75, tried in the Queen’s Bench a few years ago (see also *Armory v. Delamirie*, Smith’s L. C. 151), where a roll of bank notes picked up inside a shop, for which no owner appeared after sufficient advertisement, were adjudged to belong

to the man who picked them up, and not to the tradesman on whose floor they were found, and in whose custody, pending claim, they had been left.

Another error which I have heard boldly put forward may perhaps be refuted in this place, viz., that a single coin cannot constitute what is called “a treasure,” and is not therefore under the law. The smallest piece of gold, silver, or coin, is just so much “thesaurus,” or “treasure,” which is, in its legal sense, a noun of quantity and not of multitude, and equivalent to “gold, silver, and money.” Those who have made this mistake are, in fact, misled by their own use of the phrase “a treasure,” which is unknown to our law ; as we do not say “a gold,” or “a money,” so neither do we say, legally and strictly, “a treasure.”

II. And this brings us to the second part of our subject. Having brought down the history of this franchise to our own time, and shown it to exist, clearly, and to a really well-defined extent, in the Crown or its occasional grantees, I come with great diffidence to the question—"What should the Crown do with it?" How can this existing right best be exercised for the public advantage?

It has been sometimes suggested that the Crown should exercise this right by abdicating it—should now, and for ever, waive all claims of the sort, and vest all discoveries in the finder. It is urged that as long as any claims clash with his, there will be an inducement to the finder to conceal and to melt. That the Crown would lose little, the landlord be benefited much. That competition would arise, and higher prices would ensure greater care. That the relics would, sooner or later, by sale or gift, come to the public museums.—I think I have stated, shortly but fully, the arguments of those who uphold this view.

With much deference to those who put forth these suggestions, I confess that I cannot bring myself to see the advantages held out by their scheme. To resist the tendency to conceal and melt, surely other methods may be adopted. It is a new policy to resist theft by giving the thief what he covets! Imagine a Cornhill jeweller addressing a burglar,—“It is a great trouble to me to keep my premises safe from your gang. Here, take the property, and let us have no more fuss about it!” That the Crown would lose little, is perfectly true,—nothing at all we may say; but the public, for whom the Crown is trustee, would lose a very great deal; while the landlord appears just as far from his imaginary claim as before. Competition would, no doubt, arise, but would infallibly bring with it dispersion: and it is easy for the Crown to offer such a price or reward as will make all possible care worth while to the finder, without in effect subjecting each discovery to a vague species of auction through the neighbourhood, with the view of benefit to his pocket. And, lastly, to expose such discoveries to all the risks of ignorant

It is not “a treasure-trove,” or “treasures-trove,” but “treasure-trove.” It has even been gravely urged that the maxim “*de minimis non curat lex*,” will apply to a

single coin, and I recommend those who think so to steal one from a neighbour's collection and try!

and careless ownership, *in order* that they may (if not lost or destroyed) *perhaps*, and *some day*, revert to the public ;—to cast them on waters so wide, with so vague a hope of finding them, and after so many days ;—seems as eminently unwise a mode of proceeding as can well be adopted. These proposals will be found invariably to emanate from private collectors, and cannot fail to bear the suspicion, that while others are devising how to secure to such discoveries their greatest public and scientific value, these proposers are, perhaps insensibly, devising means to a much smaller end—how best such discoveries, in any state, may be made available to private purchase.

Some remarks against these suicidal suggestions, contained in the pamphlet published six years ago by the late Mr. Rhind, are so apt that I will quote them here. They were written, it must be remembered, before the issue of the “Circular to the Police,” and in the days when the claim of the Crown was exerciseable without any benefit or remuneration to the finder ; so that much of them applies with double force to the state of things at present existing.

“Exaggerated expectations are frequently entertained of the number of valuable relics which would be saved from the crucible by obtaining what is called free-trade in antiquities. Those who have practically had occasion to investigate the circumstances usually attending such affairs, know very well that dread of having his prize wrested from him by the officers of the Crown is far from being the only reason which induces many a discoverer to doom his golden *find*. He is commonly a labourer or a small cotter, probably in an out-of-the-way district. He may or he may not know of the royal right ; but he has an impression that the landlord might require possession to be ceded to him ; or he wishes to keep the matter quiet so as to have a hopeful search all to himself in the vicinity of the lucky spot ; or he has the natural feeling not to publish his piece of good fortune, any more than he would proclaim the amount of his deposit in the savings’ bank, or of the little hoard in the corner of his chest. Do what he can some rumour of the discovery will probably circulate in the neighbouring village or hamlet, which under a proper method of supervision might perhaps reach ears that could turn it to good account, but which with the free-trade system would speedily die away fruitless, as no one, even if he chanced to be a person that cared, could insist upon answers to inquiries. And thus the objects, concealed very likely for a time (many months, as I have sometimes known), are eventually sold, it may be to a passing pedlar, to a watchmaker, not probably in the nearest town ; or the finder may send them to a friend, or personally convey them, for disposal in one of the large cities, usually to the pawnbrokers, or to working jewellers. It is sufficiently likely that in the course of time many of these buyers would ascertain that, instead of melting down relics which might come into their hands, it would

be more profitable to try and obtain the extravagant fancy prices which collectors, as well public as private, are sometimes disposed to give ; and it might even happen eventually that in some instances this inducement would operate direct upon the finders. But from what has been said of their usual motives for secrecy, it is very evident that their general policy would be a quiet sale to such middlemen as have been indicated, or a covert transporting of the treasure, if considerable, to one of the large towns ; and so, in one way or the other, the relics would come into the market scarcely even with evidence of authenticity, almost certainly with no trustworthy account of the circumstances in which they had been discovered, probably with no definite specification, except a suspicious assertion of the locality, perhaps county, where they had been procured ; and therefore they would be deprived of any higher scientific utility or significance than if they had been manufactured yesterday in Birmingham."²

The advocates of this cession by the Crown seem to me, moreover, to lose sight of the fact that the right of Treasure-Trove is not in every case the Crown's to cede. Regarding the Crown as trustee for the public, the public might, it is true, not unfairly ask it to yield its claim, were such a course clearly desirable. But the lords of manors, with private claims to this franchise by ancient grant (and they would be found, I suspect, more numerous than is often supposed,) are concerned in no such trust, and over these the public has no claim in the world. Any measure of this nature must, therefore, necessarily be partial and incomplete, and leave the matter only more perplexed and unsatisfactory than before ; unless, indeed, it is contemplated to investigate and either purchase or arbitrarily appropriate all these private rights also,—a measure which could not but raise more difficulty and opposition than it could hope to survive. Unadvisable as it appears to alter the statute law upon this subject, would it not also be found impracticable ? Should not, on both grounds, our efforts at reform be directed to the mode in which the law is carried out and applied ?

Again, let us suppose for a moment the claim of the Crown waived, and consider the result. The old and present squabble between landlord, tenant, lord of manor, and finder

² The Law of Treasure-Trove, by A. Henry Rhind. Edinburgh, 1853. P. 14. See, too, a paper by Mr. Irving in the Journal of the Archaeological Association for 1859, vol. xv. p. 31, which contains much that is good and valuable, and is weak only in dealing too good-

naturedly with some of those childish quibbles on the law, with which this question ever and anon becomes unfortunately encumbered, the brothers-german to some of later birth which I have mentioned in a former note.

renewed with double force ; tenant against landlord, both against lord of manor, and all against finder ; concealment by the latter rife than before ; pedlars and hawkers in deeper clover than ever. All this confusion and mischief would infallibly result, uncontrolled and never again controllable, were the strong arm of the Crown once removed.

I have heard landlords, however, advocate this cession to the finder on this very ground, that they would thus regain their legitimate influence in the matter, and by their power over the finder secure to themselves what they regard, however erroneously, as their own by natural right. Given a landlord, resident, popular, and an antiquary ; an estate in a ring fence ; a contented and honest peasantry, with an uncontrollable impulse to bring all their doubts and confide all their secrets to their squire as to a father,—and I am not sure that, considering all things, a better machinery could be devised, or one more practically calculated for the good of science. In a few instances all these conditions are, no doubt, realised, and notably in the case of a landlord who has more than once brought his views on the subject forward. But take England by the acre, and will a thousandth part of her be found so happily situated ? Is not this Utopia, rather than England, and can it be for a moment thought of as a basis for legislation ?

Preserving then, for all these reasons, the present law, how can we place its application on a proper footing ?

The object which we wish to achieve may be said to be twofold. First, to preserve antiquities from the tendency to conceal and melt them immediately after their discovery ; secondly, when so preserved, to keep them from a second burial—perhaps eventual loss or destruction after all—in unappreciating hands. It is useless to legislate for preservation in the first case if we give all facilities for destruction in the second ; useless to save a child in the birth, and then to starve it ! In endeavouring, then, to compass these two objects, we find that over antiquities other than treasure proper—other than gold, silver, and coin—we have no hold beyond that of example ; but that over such as are treasure we have a hold, in this clear right of the Crown,—a hold the more important and responsible for this very possibility of example. Having this hold, is it not downright suicide to give it up ? I do not say that it is a perfect system, but

it is what we have got, and all that we can get. Cannot very great public advantage yet be gained from it?

I cannot but think Sir George Lewis's scheme right in the main, and based upon sound principles. A similar scheme is admitted to be working well in Scotland (where, however, as in Denmark and other countries once purely feudal, seems to exist the advantage of a recognised Government claim to *all* discovered antiquities). But even there we hear loud complaints on one subject (which is also one of the very deficiencies which I am anxious to point out in our own system), the *distribution* of the objects when saved, and the general ignorance which prevails as to their ultimate destiny.

I think that—

1. A clear understanding upon this point, the destiny of antiquities thus secured by Government;

2. A corrected and well-defined statement of what articles Government may and will claim;

3. The addition of an offer to purchase what it does *not* claim, to that of a remuneration (and it should be slightly raised) for what it does claim;—and

4. The elimination, as much as possible, of the police element from the matter;

—are the four chief reforms which the system seems to require. After this, all possible care should be taken that it is perfectly and universally understood in every village and hamlet of the kingdom; and I cannot help thinking that Sir George Lewis's scheme—rid of so much of its claims and threats as is unwarrantable; rid of its suspicions, uncertainties, and perplexities; rid, to some extent, of the police; and more evidently based upon liberality and advantage to the finder—would be found to succeed in its object.

Let us take these suggested improvements in their order of requirement.

First. The clear and corrected statement of the Government claim. I have already shown what this really is, and wherein it differs from Sir George Lewis's claim. The claim is, in reality, perfectly simple and plain, and any perplexity in the matter arises entirely from ignorance. In whatever way the reform may be effected—by circular, placard, proclamation, Act of Parliament, &c.—the greatest care should be taken completely to eradicate this ignorance,

to define the claim of the Crown correctly, and publish it universally, and to let no doubt or disbelief form an excuse for delay and concealment.

Secondly. The addition of an offer to purchase what is not claimed by Government. What is claimed Sir George Lewis has already offered to pay for at its intrinsic or metallic value ; and this price, I think, should be increased (as, indeed, is only fair when we consider its fancy market value), for the purpose of at once and for ever outbidding the melting-pot, which is now, in a finder's calculations, on a par with the Government reward. A finder will not sell dishonestly at melting price when he knows where to come honestly by a fancy price ; and I think the great object should be to foster the impression that the Government depôt, whatever it be, is a better market than the pack of the tramp, or the jeweller's shop in the country town. Let this be a finder's first thought and instinct in the matter, the liability to get into trouble with the police being (as in too many cases it will always be) his secondary thought. I would by no means underrate the importance of this latter hold upon him, or be careless about making him fully aware of it ; but his own pecuniary advantage should, I think, be made paramount to it, and be his most obvious guide in the matter. It will then, too, be easy to induce him to bring instinctively to the same market other discoveries which cannot be claimed there, and these Government should, as I have suggested, offer to purchase in the same manner. In this way the example which our hold upon treasure enables us to give for other discoveries can be exercised to the best advantage, and I hope we may achieve as much with these too, by a liberal appeal to the finder's interest, as the "Circular to the Police" has endeavoured to achieve by a mistaken and untenable claim.

Involved, however, in this branch of the question is the great importance of a speedy realisation of the reward or purchase-money. If a poor man is to wait from summer to winter, as I believe the Eccles finder was doomed to wait, in lingering expectation of his promised wealth, we may be sure that the next hoard discovered in his neighbourhood will go to a readier market, its finder even putting up with a "smaller profit" for the sake of a "quicker return." Ought there not to be an officer of the Treasury, an expert

in the matter of antiquities, specially appointed for this very purpose, to free the discovery as much as possible from the delays so frequent in a public office, and in the present case so disastrous to the objects in view? The subject seems of sufficient importance to claim a special department of its own.

Thirdly. For the clear understanding as to the destiny of antiquities thus claimed or purchased by the Crown. The general advantage of this addition to the scheme is very obvious; but I think it is particularly required to resist the local collector, who is apt to think a little *dilettante* smuggling no very heinous offence, and is now the most industrious evader of the law, and often, it seems pretty plain, more to blame than the finder himself. It is most important to counteract his influence; and may it not best be done by pleasing and pacifying him? He has opportunities of smuggling, against which no law or vigilance can possibly avail, and is the more inclined to exercise and encourage them, from a not unreasonable, and not necessarily selfish, fear and jealousy, that relics—certainly of more interest and value near the spot of their discovery, and along with others of the same local character, than anywhere else in the world—will, when consigned to Government, become perhaps dispersed, at best remain almost unnoticed in an enormous national collection, and, in any event, be certainly lost to the neighbourhood. Without denying to the British Museum the right to relics of great national importance, may we not bring these vigilant enemies over to the side of the law, by including local museums also as depositories of the rescued treasures? May we not make our poachers, as is proverbial, our best game-keepers, by a wiser application of our archæological game-laws, and a wiser distribution of the game preserved? ³ There is not a district of England

³ I hope no one will feel aggrieved by these remarks upon private collectors. That relics smuggled by them (for smuggling it is when the relic is treasure) come constantly into the very best and most conscientious of hands, I should be and am the last person in the world to deny or to doubt; but let them consider—first, the example which they set, for he who will sell fraudulently to a gentleman one day, will do the same to a tramp the

next; the principle is the same in the rustic's mind, which reckons not of scientific importance to the world, but only of pecuniary advantage to himself. Let them too consider secondly,—however they may lay the flattering unction to their souls that they are doing good, and are procuring valuable records of history to be well cared for,—how long can they answer for the continuance of this care? —quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Collec-

now-a-days which has not some public museum, or some semi-public society, well worthy of being constituted trustee of its own treasures, and with claims upon Government for such possession indisputably strong; for, indeed, what better custodians of valuable records can be found than those most immediately interested in their preservation? To a society with the broad and liberal objects and the nomad habits of the Archæological Institute, it must be sufficiently obvious how real and how great is the importance of preserving local discoveries in their own neighbourhood, and how much practical value is gained, in every point of view, by the juxtaposition of the spot of discovery and the thing discovered. Advantageous, indeed, as such a distribution would be in deprecating smuggling and furthering preservation, would it not be still more so in the increased and permanent usefulness gained for the objects preserved?

Fourthly,—and I have put this point last, from diffidence, not of the necessity for the change, but of my suggestion for a remedy,—we come to the possibility of keeping the police, as much as may be, out of the scheme. Some Government machinery, open to universal access, is necessary, and this was what Sir George Lewis selected. But are the police the best? Does not his scheme owe much of its failure to the air of surveillance and compulsion thus too obviously mixed up with it?—which seems scarcely necessary, and is very apt to create unpleasant feelings in the class to which we owe most of our discoveries. Is not a policeman, too, proverbially difficult to find in time of need, and in how many

tors have become bankrupt, have become of unsound mind, and at least must die. Who can tell that a future owner will not reset their Saxon fibula for his wife in the latest fashion of the nineteenth century?—or be struck with the peculiar adaptability of their Early British Series to the intellectual amusement of chuck-farthing? He may even think that he has provided for this—has executed his will, and left his collection to a museum, or to trustees, and has made all safe. But again, what shall make his will safe? Is he sure that it may not be lost or destroyed? Is he sure that it is properly drawn, and is without flaw? Is he sure that his liabilities at his death may not swamp his personalty, and consign his collection to a hammer as destructive of

its collective value as if actually, instead of metaphorically, brought down upon it? I fear that it seems ungenerous and invidious to urge such questions as these on many enlightened, liberal, and conscientious collectors, the pillars of antiquarian science, who feel, as indeed they have the best possible reason to feel, that their collection is subservient to very great public advantage. I can only ask them to consider the case in the long run; whether it is not after all plainly most for the general good, that public records should be in public keeping; and whether any law, which has a tendency to make and keep them so, should not be encouraged and carried out to the utmost.

cases will not the nearest police-station be many miles distant?—the temptation of a readier market must lose us many a discovery. Dealings with a policeman, moreover, are for many reasons regarded with suspicion and dislike, and it should be remembered that it is not every member of what I will call the discovering class, who at all times chooses to face one :—the system of preservation should, at least, be made as easy of carrying out as possible. Of the crime of "Concealment of Treasure-Trove," the police must, of course, take cognizance, as of every other rural crime ; but where there is no wish to conceal, and no crime, I cannot but think that the police-station is not the best Government depôt.

It has occurred to me, and I wish to offer the suggestion for what it may be worth, that Government has at its command other machinery, which, while entirely free from odium, fulfils the requisite of ubiquity even better than the police. A gentle and popular machinery, ramifying through the whole country, with a depôt in the centre of every village and hamlet, and daily and most pleasant communication, or means of communication, with every house in England ; possessing, moreover, the speediest and safest and most private means of conveyance to head-quarters. A machinery in its very nature accustomed to the trust and care of articles of value, and, through a beneficial measure lately introduced, already increasing daily in its responsibility for "treasure." I need hardly say that I mean the Post-Office. If it were a well-known fact in every village in England (and, here again, how easier made known than by placard at the post-office ?) that a finder of hidden gold, silver, or coin,—is not indeed its owner, and is liable to imprisonment for keeping it or disposing of it,—but will, nevertheless, receive in a few days its entire value and something more, as fully and surely as if he were the owner, by simply leaving it, with a description of its finding (the fuller the description the more the value), at his post-office ; that of other material so found he is in good truth the actual owner, and may best derive the benefit of his ownership, and get the value of his windfall, by dealing with it in the very same way ;—would not all motive and temptation to concealment be gone at once ? Once make him understand that his post-office, while in some cases his only lawful

market, is also in all cases his easiest and best ; that his discovery, whether his own by law or not, will there be treated, in every case alike, as if it *were* his own ; that when it is once safely lodged there, no one can step in between him and his full gains by the discovery ; and surely it would not be from the labourer that further evasion of the law would arise.

Thus I have endeavoured to suggest shortly the means by which it has seemed to me that discoveries of antiquities may, having regard to what legal power we hold over them, best be defended from their enemies, whether of the selling or the purchasing class, and best be made available for public and scientific good. Others may wish for sweeping alterations of our statute laws, the effect of which they cannot foretell, and appear scarcely even to have considered. I hope I may, at least, claim for my own suggestions the merit of simplicity, and I cannot help thinking that, if such a scheme were matured in wiser and abler hands, it might prove a not inadequate remedy for the existing evils.

A FEW NOTES ON SOME CHURCHES NEAR WARWICK,

BY EDWARD W. GODWIN, F.R.S.

TOWARDS the end of our last congress I received an invitation from Mr. John Fetherston, jun., to accompany him on a visit to some village churches north of Warwick. The arrangements at the Warwick meeting for inspecting buildings of this class, which on some previous occasions proved peculiarly attractive, seemed to be very limited, and I gladly accepted the kind offer of the Honorary Curator of the local Archaeological Society. The results of this day's excursion I have here related, so that others may share in the pleasure and instruction which I thence derived.

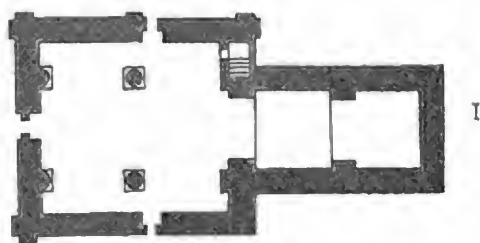
The churches visited were those of Haseley, Baddesley Clinton, Rowington, Lapworth, Packwood, and Knowle. All these are built on the ship type, which appears to have largely obtained throughout the county. The churches of Haseley, Baddesley Clinton, and Packwood are small, each being composed of nave, chancel, and western tower. At Knowle there is a very large development of the same simple arrangement, with north and south aisles and two chancels, one east of the other. The church of Lapworth has aisles of four bays, but the tower is on the north side and detached. Lastly, that of Rowington possesses a central tower with *quasi* transepts, better described as recesses, a nave with aisles of two bays, two chancels as at Knowle, and a late north aisle to the chancel and tower; the latter has consequently lost its north recess on the ground plan.

It will be seen from this slight general sketch, that the churches at Rowington and Lapworth are of an unusual and interesting character. Through the kindness of the vicar, the Rev. P. B. Brodie, Honorary Secretary of the Warwickshire Archaeological Society, I have been furnished with a carefully measured ground-plan of his church at Rowington.¹ I

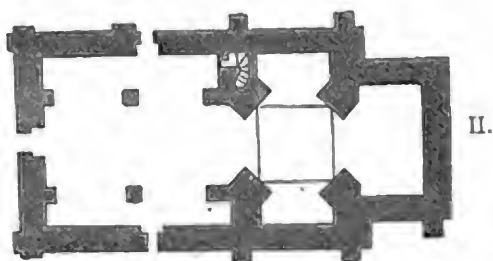
¹ A ground-plan, south-east view, interior view, with some details of this church, have been given in the Notices of Churches in the Deanery of Warwick,

published in 1858, by the Warwickshire Nat. Hist. and Arch. Society, vol. ii. p. 67.

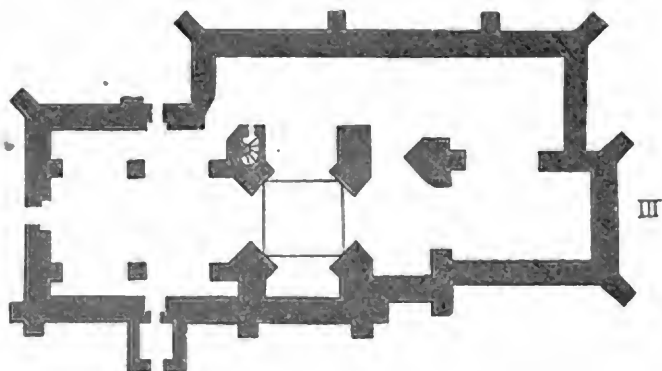
have added other plans, showing the growth or overgrowth of the building, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Of the Norman church there are scarcely any visible remains. A flat pilaster buttress against the north wall and possibly the stoup are as early as the twelfth century; but, although nearly all the Norman work has given place to Early Decorated, the proportions of the latter style as here exhibited, taken in conjunction with other features, seem to indicate a pre-existing Norman arrangement, very similar to that of the present church, and I have little doubt that the walls of the nave, aisles, and tower, stand upon Norman foundations. Thus, for instance, the walls are between 3 ft. and 4 ft. thick, while the nave is only 14 ft. wide, and the aisles not even so much as 5 ft. wide. The length of the nave is 31 ft., but the west wall is wholly late Perpendicular, as if the builders in the Decorated period had left untouched the Norman façade, which was, as a rule, the best part of a Norman church. For we can scarcely suppose that the west wall was ever Decorated, inasmuch as the Middle-Pointed work throughout the church is admirably executed, and the builders of the Perpendicular period would hardly have pulled down a good west wall, unless for the purpose of re-modeling the church, a purpose which they evidently did not entertain, if we may judge from their work, which is suited and fitted to the earlier work in a spirit of modesty by no means common to the time. Turning now to the Decorated period we have north and south doorways, low and broad, with very elegantly proportioned arches continuous, of two orders chamfered. These doorways are opposite to one another, and in the east almost bays. To the east of the south door is a bold three-light window, with uncusped tracery of the form known as reticulated; a similar window occurs in the tower-recess. The nave-arches are of two orders, chamfered, and surmounted by hood-moldings of a peculiar form. The eastern responds are of considerable depth, and serve as buttresses to the lateral arches of the tower. In the erection of this tower every precaution seems to have been taken to strengthen piers which in themselves appear to be of excessive strength. To such an extent were these precautions carried, that we find solid walls where we usually see arches, viz., between the aisles and transepts, or recesses. The tower arches are



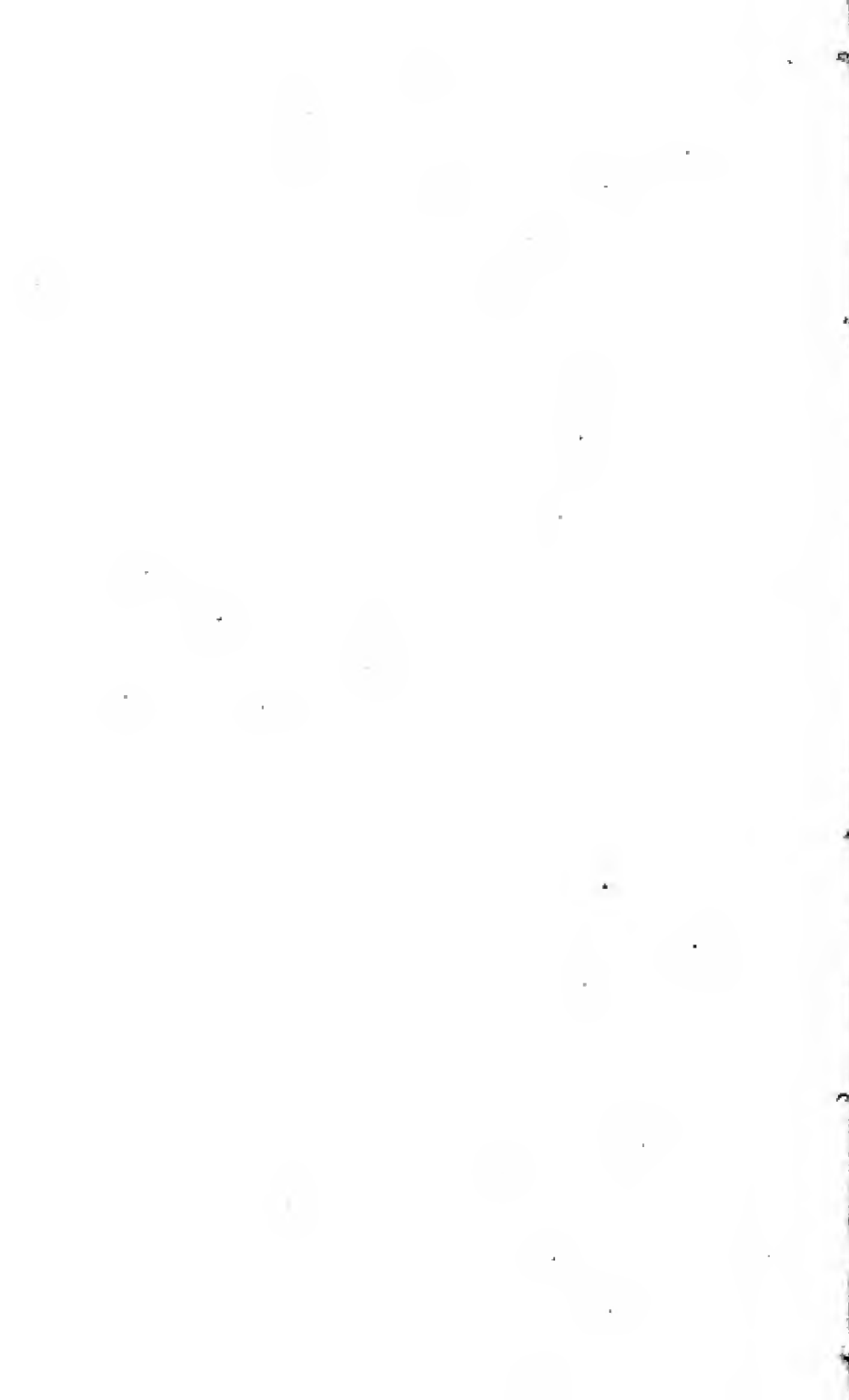
A.D. 1100.



A.D. 1300.



Rowington Church.
Ground plan.



very bold and thick, of five chamfered orders, the superior orders within the tower interpenetrating. This exhibition of unnecessary strength appears as if it had been the result of a warning such as would be occasioned by the fall of a Norman tower; it might, however, be suggested that this great strength was planned for the purpose of erecting a spire, but I have failed to find any indication in the upper part of the tower which would lead to the conclusion that a spire was intended. The original chancel extends one bay eastward of the tower; the old east wall is pierced by a Perpendicular arch leading to the second chancel. In the east wall there is a Decorated window which appears to have been reset, and might therefore have been removed from the east end of the Decorated church, which only extended as far as the site of the Perpendicular chancel-arch. In this church are an early fourteenth century chest; a monumental incised slab, dated 1558, with the figures of John Oldnall, bailiff of Rowington, and his wife "Isbell;" an altar-slab, measuring 6 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 6 in.; a few decorative pavement tiles; some open seats; some pieces of thirteenth century glass; and a fragment of oak screen-work. The tower rises one stage above the roof-ridge, and is capped with a battlemented parapet.

The church of Lapworth² is planned with nave and aisles of four bays, a chancel of two bays, and a north chapel of one bay. The whole fabric appears to have been rebuilt soon after it came into the final possession of Merton College (1276); its style is Early Decorated. A great part of the body of the church has been rebuilt in the Perpendicular period, to which also belong a detached tower and spire on the north side, and a singular two-storied structure, possibly a relic-house, attached to the west end. The early work of the nave appears in three trefoliated lancets of equal height in the west wall, the central and the south light having, however, been blocked up by the supposed relic-house. In the north wall of the chancel is a single lancet of the same design as those in the west end, but with an additional jamb molding; in the south wall are a square

² An account of Lapworth Church is given in the Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire before cited, vol. ii. p. 14. A ground-plan, south view, and a west view showing the exterior of the curious

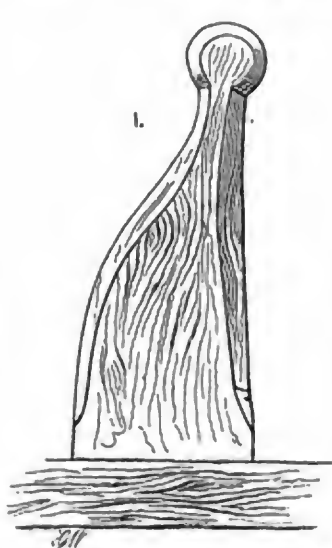
"relic-house" above described, may there be found. That remarkable structure is there designated a "West Porch and Chapel."

low-side window and two broad three-light windows, peculiarly interesting, as exhibiting two developments of tracery on one design, viz. three lights under one arch pierced in the spandril. I have given sketches of these windows (see woodcuts, figures III., IV.). The wall of the south aisle of the nave, from the eastern jamb of the doorway westward, is thicker than any other part of that wall. The doorway itself, and two blocked up low lancet-lights westward, show that this thicker wall belongs to the thirteenth century church. The arches of the north chapel and the priest's door in the south wall of the chancel are of the same early character. The difference of masonry visible over the chancel arch marks the pitch of the Early English roof, and shows that the Early English church had no clerestory, and that the roofs of the nave and aisles were continuous or very nearly so. The Perpendicular work is extremely rich for village work; the hoodmoldings of many of the windows are crocketed and finialed, and have very large sculptured terminations. The clerestory windows are of the square-headed form so common in Warwickshire, the greatest development of which is met with at Coventry. The tower is very plain, but finely proportioned, if we shut out the buttresses, which rather interfere with its gradation. The great feature of the church, however, is the small two-storied Perpendicular structure attached to the west end of the nave, called by some antiquaries a "chantry-chapel;" a chantry being recorded in Pat. 47 Edw. III. to have been founded in a certain chapel adjoining the church by Richard de Montfort and others, as hereafter mentioned.³ The lower story of this possibly unique edifice is nothing more than a vaulted passage,⁴ 6 feet 2 inches wide and about 9 feet 3 inches long,

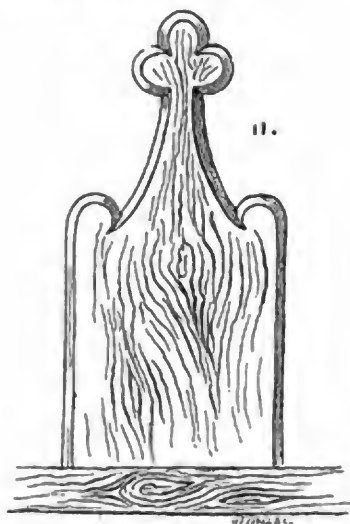
³ Dugdale has printed the long list of persons enumerated in the endowment, for whose welfare daily mass was to be said in honor of the Blessed Virgin, St. Thomas the Martyr, and All Saints. The chapel is described in another document as the Chapel of Our Lady and St. Thomas; the first chantry-priest was appointed 49 Edw. III. The lands and rents with which it was endowed by various persons were considerable. See Dugdale's account of Lapworth, and the Notices of Churches of Warwickshire before cited, p. 16. It must be observed

that the chapel on the north side of the chancel may have been that of Our Lady; it is so described by Dr. Thomas, in his edition of Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 791, where he notices a supposed contrivance in the loft above, whereby a person concealed might give movement to the image of the Blessed Virgin placed in a niche below. Two brackets for images against the east wall of this north chapel are figured in the Notices of Churches, *ut supra*, p. 24.

⁴ The groining does not now exist, the springing stones only remain.



Packwood, height 3 ft.

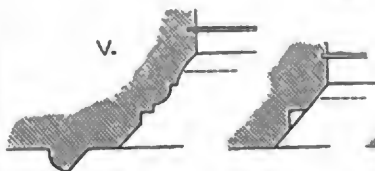


Bench-ends.

Paddeley Clinton.



Chancel Windows,
Lapworth Church.

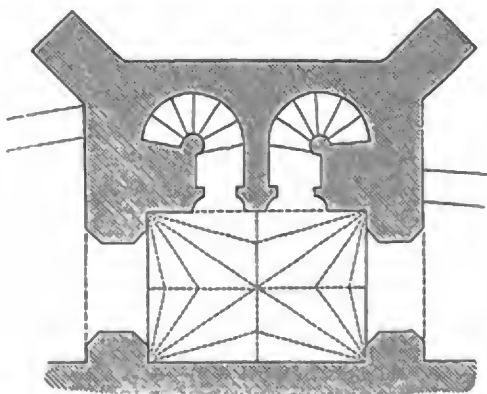


Lapworth Church.



Packwood Church.

with open archways north and south ; on the west in this passage are two doorways, and two newel staircases lead from the



Western Porch or Vaulted Passage leading N. and S., Lapworth Church.

lower or ground floor to the upper story. The juxtaposition of these two staircases, the position of their doorways, the vaulted passage-way, and the small size of the chamber above it, all indicate that the place must have been designed with a view to facilitate the ingress and egress of a number of persons. The purpose of this building, and the peculiarly low position of the blocked-up lancet windows westward of the south door of the south aisle, may perhaps be explained by the gift of Ivo Pipard (6th Edward I.) of a messuage and lands and 24 pence per annum, for the maintenance of two wax candles, one to burn before the altar of St. James, the other "to burn before the reliques."⁵ The low lancet-windows, possibly, were designed for the exhibition of these "reliques," in the general rebuilding of the church, which may have taken place during the reign of Edward I., and probably between 1276 and 1280. In 1374, Richard de Montfort founded a chantry here ; and, throughout the fifteenth century, lamps and candles were bequeathed to the church by various persons, to burn before the Rood, the altar of the Blessed Mary in the chancel, and the altar of St. James. In 1467, an indulgence of forty days was granted to all who should attend mass at the altar of St. Katharine. These facts, taken in connection with the rich character of the later portions of the building, are evidences

⁵ Dugdale's Hist. of Warwickshire, Dr. Thomas's edit., p. 791.

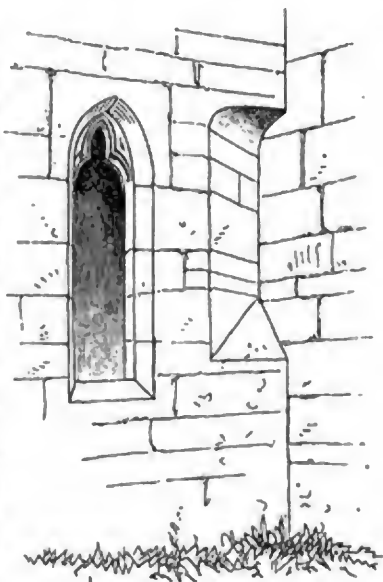
of the growing importance of the church at Lapworth during the fifteenth century, and lead us to the conclusion that the building at the west end of the nave may have been one of the first of the works in the Perpendicular period, and devised for the better exhibition of certain relics, and the better accommodation of those who came to visit them. It should be noted that this supposed relic-house is not placed in the centre of the west front, but some few feet south of the centre. By this arrangement only two lancet-windows of the west front were enclosed, the northernmost light being left free. The centre light, one of the two thus enclosed, is now used as a cupboard, the other serves as a doorway to the organ-gallery. These are so much modernized, that it was impossible for me to ascertain how they were treated by the builders of the relic-house.

The church at Haseley lies a little off the main road. The nave, chancel, and south porch are modernized; there is a plain early Perpendicular tower at the west end, and some well-preserved painted glass in the west window. Some of the merlons of the parapet are decorated as at Rowington with escutcheons; a practice which seems to have obtained favor with the later tower builders in this locality.

At Baddesley-Clinton there is no early work of interest. There is a plain tower of the latter part of the fifteenth century, of the same design as the neighbouring tower at Packwood, and a chancel of the time of Charles I. The chancel screen is of the same period, and on the rood beam is the following inscription:—"Hic quærite regna Dei : : 1634. Procul hinc procul este Prophani." Over this are the words:—"Memor esto brevis ævi." On the wall over the screen are the royal arms, with the letters C. R. and the date 1662. There are some bench ends of good simple fashion. (See woodcuts, fig. II.)

Packwood Church is a late thirteenth century building with a fifteenth century tower, and an ugly modern excrescence on the north side of the nave. Beginning at the west end of the nave, we have first a trefoil-headed lancet north and south, north and south doorways, with a wooden porch to the latter, and at the eastern end of the south wall a two-light window and a piscina. The chancel arch is of two chamfered orders, the inner one resting on molded

corbels. Inside the arch are lancet-windows north and south, trefoiled within the soffit-cusp, with hooks for shutters, and oak lintels inside instead of scot-consoles. There is a priest's door in the south wall with a singular hood-molding, and then a two-light window, and a similar one exactly opposite, having very wide rear vaults. There is an east window of three lights, and a trefoiled piscina. In the chancel windows are considerable remains of pattern lead-work and of grisaille glass; in the nave are some very solid benches, possibly as old as the church. (See woodcuts of bench ends, fig. I.) There is a singular arrangement of masonry at the exterior north-west angle of the chancel, of which I have given a sketch. (See woodcut.)



Knowle Church is the largest of the group. It consists of a west tower, a spacious nave, and aisles of four bays, and a chancel of two bays of Early Perpendicular work of the close of the fourteenth century (about 1392); to this has been added, about 1530, a chancel of two bays, the old chancel being divided, and the western half given up to the nave, so that the later rood-screen comes close to the early sedilia. The late chancel has a semiapsidal character from the contraction of the side walls, and its architecture is of the same style as the Coventry churches. The aisles, which are of earlier and bolder architecture, have been spoilt by the battlemented parapets, gargoyles, and pinnacles set up by the chancel-builders. The roof of the nave is of a very low pitch; it has been painted red, and the ground powdered with metal stars. The rood-screen and loft has been a very rich piece of work; I am obliged thus to speak of it, because some person from Coventry has lately "restored" it. Against the east and south wall of the south aisle are eleven

stall seats and misereres, moved from their proper place, I believe, by the "restorer," or destroyer, of the screen.

It only remains to record the danger which threatened the interesting church of Rowington at the time of our visit, in the shape of "plans for its enlargement and restoration." I need hardly say that we used every argument which might check the destructive scheme. On the other hand, I cannot refrain from inviting attention to the care which the Rev. R. Johnson shows for his little church at Packwood. Year by year, as he told us, he did something to the church—a "something" which rendered it not less but more interesting to the archæologist. One year by opening the blocked-up priest's doorway; the next by bringing to light a window which had been similarly treated; no "cleaning down," and no renewing, unless the fabric was in danger, and then the new stone was inserted with all the undisguised frankness of a common repair. The prevalent mania for church "restoration" is still much to be regretted. If we could prevail on church restorers to imitate the laudable example of the incumbent of Packwood, the archæologist would no longer have cause to lament the injuries too frequently inflicted on interesting examples of church architecture throughout the country.

WARWICKSHIRE NUMISMATICS; THE ANCIENT MINTS, AND THE "KINETON MEDAL."

From Notes communicated by EDWARD HAWKINS, ESQ., F.R.S.,
Vice-President of the Archaeological Institute.¹

THE notices of mints established in Warwickshire, as early as Saxon times, at Warwick, Coventry, and Tamworth, are exceedingly meagre; with the exception of the few existing coins which have been attributed, in some instances on somewhat uncertain evidence, to those towns, few facts have been adduced, and no documentary records have been found to throw light upon the subject. The researches of the great historian of the county apparently failed to bring to light any evidence bearing upon the enquiry; we seek in vain for even the mention of the ancient mints in question in Dugdale's History of Warwickshire, and in his otherwise ample notices of the three towns where, as has been observed, mints existed even in pre-Norman times. The indefatigable investigations of an antiquary of note in our own days, Mr. Thomas Sharp, seem to have been equally unavailing; and very little can be stated in addition to the comparatively slight amount of information which has been gleaned by Ruding, and the evidence supplied by coins preserved in the British Museum.

The mint at Warwick does not appear upon any coin before the reign of Cnut (c. A.D. 1015—1035), nor is any evidence of its existence to be found upon the money of any of the succeeding monarchs except Harold I., Harthacnut, Harold II., and William I. It is remarkable that Dugdale does not appear to have been aware of any local tradition in regard to the situation of the mint at Warwick. John Rous, the Warwick historian, born there about 1411, and for forty years resident at Guy's Cliff as one of the chap-

¹ This Memoir was read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Warwick, July, 1864.

lains of a chantry founded by Richard Beauchamp, has preserved the only record of the site of the mint ; he states, in his History of the Kings of England, which he dedicated to Henry VII., that the mint was in early times in the eastern parts of the town,² as he discovered in certain writings in the chancel of the collegiate church of St. Mary, in which he had frequently read the names of Baldred, Everard,³ and other moneyers in the reigns of Richard I. and other preceding monarchs ; he states that the accustomed dwelling of those moneyers was in a place which at the time when he wrote, about 1480, was occupied by the vicars of the college. It is now the Free School, and it is still called the College. John Rous, to whom we owe these particulars, was author of several treatises on the antiquities of his native town and the history of its earls, writings known to us as having been perused by Leland. It is believed that Rous formed a library over the south porch of St. Mary's Church, at Warwick, and on his death, in 1491, he was buried in that collegiate church. He doubtless had favorable opportunities for collecting and verifying local evidence or traditions. His Chronicle, before mentioned, has been printed, but somewhat inaccurately, by Hearne, from a transcript of the text preserved in one of the Cottonian MSS., collated with another copy supposed to have been transcribed for Matthew Parker, and now amongst his MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.⁴ It is desirable to invite notice to the interesting passage, often heretofore cited, containing the sole record of the Warwick mint and certain ancient moneyers, since, through errors in the printed text, in which "*cunagium*" has been twice given as "*omagium*," it had been rendered scarcely intelligible. In the narrative of the reign of Richard I., writing of the king's return from Palestine and the appointment of the Archbishop of Rouen as guardian of the realm during his absence, Rous gives incidentally the following notice of the mint at Warwick :—

"Rex Ricardus non permisit dominos Angliæ solito modo in dominiis suis cunagium facere, Warwicensium prioribus

² Ruding. vol. ii. p. 224.

³ Numism. Chron. vol. xii. p. 160.

⁴ Nasmyth, Catal. libr. MSS. Coll. Corp. Christi, No. cx. p. 116. Joh. Rossi His-

toria Regum Angliæ. This copy is described as on paper, written in the sixteenth century.

temporibus cunagium erat ad orientem, ut reperi in scriptis Cancellæ ecclesiæ collegiatæ Sanctæ Mariæ matris Christi, ubi, ut diebus meis novi, erat venella modo obturata et ad austrum cemiterii translata. Monetariorum etiam nomina ibidem licite tunc et ante occupantia (*sic*) in scriptis sæpius legi, ut Baldredus, Everardus, et ceteri hujusmodi monetarii. Horum solita mansio fuit in loco ubi vicarii nunc collegii manent pro certo erat."⁵

The coins attributed to the Warwick mint which exist in the collection at the British Museum have been enumerated as follows, by the kindness of Mr. Vaux. Of Ethelred II. there is one bearing the moneyer's name—ÆTHELRIC ON WER—and another with the name ELFSIGE; but it is doubtful whether WER may not, in this instance, be Wareham. Of Cnut there occur LEOP . . . ON WERIN,—LEOFWIN ON WAERINO (possibly Worcester), and LIFINC ON WERINC. Of Harold I. one with the name GODD ON WAERINCW, and of Harold II. two, LUFFINC ON WEARW, and SWEMAN ON WERA. On monies of the Conqueror are found IEGLRIC, or IEGELRIC ON VERHE, and—ON VERHEI, with some other slight variations of the name; IELRIC ON VERVIC, also LIFRIC ON VERVI, and—ON VERVIC; LUFIC ON VERVIC, LUFINC ON VERI, and—ON VERIC; SIDELOC ON VERE, and VERHE,⁶ THROIL ON VERVIC, &c. In the remarkable collection of coins of William the Conqueror, about 6500 in number, found in 1833 at Beaworth, in Hampshire, twenty-six occurred assigned to the mint of Warwick; the moneyers' names on these are LVFINC, IELRIC, LIFRIC, THROIL, and THVROIL, the name of the place being varied, as follows: PERI, PERIC, PERPIE (possibly Derby), PFRPI, PERPIE, PERPIC, and PERPI.⁷ Of the reign of Henry I. Mr. Vaux mentions a coin in the British Museum, bearing the moneyer's name—WULFSI, which is possibly of the Warwick mint, and of Henry II. one marked OSBER ON WIRIC. The name of the town is written in the Saxon Chronicle, *Wæringawic*, or *Wæringwic*, from Wering, a bulwark, *agger*, in allusion probably to the stronghold reared there at an

⁵ Cott. MS. Vespas. A. xii. f. 120. Compare Hearne's text, *Hist. Regum Angl.*, second edit., p. 194. The inaccuracies occurring in the latter, as above noticed, betray some want of editorial care; the word twice printed "omagium," having been thus written by a careless

scribe, had been corrected; a circumstance apparently overlooked by Jennings, who made the transcript used by Hearne.

⁶ The two last letters, *u* and *e*, are conjoined.

⁷ *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 16.

early period ; although Rous and other writers would trace the name to King Warremund, progenitor of the kings of Mercia. To those who may seek to investigate the earliest form of the name of Warwick, the evidence of these coins may not be devoid of interest, independently of their numismatic value.

In the large deposit of pennies of Henry I. and Stephen (1094 in number), found in 1818 in a rude jar in the neighbourhood of Watford, Herts, and described by Mr. Rashleigh in the Numismatic Chronicle, two coins occurred, which have been attributed to Henry Newburgh, Earl of Warwick in the reign of Henry I., or to his son Roger, the second earl and partisan of the Empress Maud.⁸ They bear on the obverse a regal head in profile, with the legend + PERERIC, the Saxon character resembling a P being probably used instead of a W, as commonly found on our earlier coinage ; reverse, + GODRICVS : ON LV. If Mr. Rashleigh's supposition be accepted, it is difficult to determine whether these coins were struck during the reign of Henry I. or of Stephen. The type resembles that of coins of the latter monarch found with them, and it has been conjectured that they may have been struck in defiance of the king by the second earl, who was constantly opposed to him. It has been stated by Ruding and other writers, that many of the barons of that time coined money, which was often either light, or debased.⁹ The obvious difficulty, however, remains unexplained, that we should find, on coins struck under such conditions, the name of a royal mint and that of the well-known moneyer *Godricus*, which occurs repeatedly on coins of Stephen minted at London.

In 1850 another coin, reading PERERIC (Wereric) was brought before the Numismatic Society by Mr. Webster, resembling in all respects that described by Mr. Rashleigh, and the legend on the obverse is the same ; the reverse, however, reads RAMVN . . NICOL.¹ There does not appear to be any known moneyer of the name connected with Lincoln.

⁸ Numism. Chron., vol. xii. p. 165; one of these coins is figured *ibid.* p. 138, the other in the plate of coins there given, fig. 13. Of these coins one has been presented by Mr. Rashleigh to the British Museum.

⁹ Ruding, vol. i. p. 167. See Mr.

Rashleigh's paper on some Baronial coins of Stephen's reign, Numism. Chron., vol. xiii. p. 181.

¹ Proceedings of the Numism. Soc., vol. xiv. p. 5. This penny is of the type of those of Stephen, Hawkins, No. 270.

Mr. Evans has noticed a third variety for many years in the Museum Collection, but overlooked, as he conjectures, chiefly on account of its having been incorrectly catalogued by Taylor Combe. According to Mr. Evans, this coin reads distinctly PERERIC on the obverse, with the same type as the other varieties; the reverse is also of the same type as the others, but seems to read + FILLEM . . . RP. Mr. Evans observes that little doubt exists in regard to the correct attribution of these coins to one of the earls of Warwick.²

The gold coin of Edward the Confessor found in 1824, during the demolition of St. Clement's church, at Worcester, must not pass unnoticed. The authenticity of this piece has been questioned; it seems to be the only known Saxon coin of gold; the arguments of Dr. Pegge and other writers in regard to a gold coinage in Anglo-Saxon times have been fully discussed by Ruding.³ This gold coin of the Confessor bears on the obverse a regal bust in profile to the left; legend—+ EDPERD REX; reverse—+ LVFINC ON PÆRINC (Wæring), namely Warwick. The name Lifinc, or Lifing, occurs in the list of moneyers in the reign of Edward the Confessor given by Ruding; it is likewise found amongst those of Harold. Dr. Nash, in his History of Worcestershire, has given a coin of the Confessor bearing the name *Wæring* as minted at Worcester, but the place of mintage thus designated was doubtless Warwick.⁴ The gold coin in question was in the collection of the late Mr. T. H. Spurrier, of Edgbaston.

Of the Coventry mint all that is known, as Ruding has observed, is that there is a rare groat of Edward IV. bearing the name of the city on its reverse, the legend being CIVITAS COVETRE, or COVETRIE; there are two varieties, one with the letter c, the other with the letter B, on the breast of the king.⁵ The date of this coinage cannot be determined, owing to the fact that Edward IV. made several visits to Coventry; it is probable that the mint was worked at

² Numism. Chron., vol. xiv. p. 153.

³ Annals of the Coinage, vol. i. p. 103.

⁴ See Mr. Akerman's account of this coin, Numism. Journ., 1837, pp. 54, 106; communications by Mr. Reader and others, Gent. Mag. vol. viii., ff. N. S., p. 637; vol. xiv. p. 618; Allies' Antiq. of Worcestershire, second edit., p. 38, where

this gold coin is figured. Some have considered it to be a piece struck in gold from the dies of the silver coinage of the period.

⁵ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 223. Dr. Pegge mentions also the latter in a letter to Dr. W. Hunter, Archæologia, vol. v. p. 410.

some time when he was resident there. Leland is the only author who has been cited as making mention of this mint ; but he only observes, in his *Itinerary*, that "there was a parliament and a mynt of coynage at Coventrye," without assigning any date either to the one or the other.⁶ There was a parliament held there, 6th Henry IV., called the "Unlearned Parliament" from the exclusion of lawyers, and another, 38th Henry VI., called the "Devilish Parliament" from the numerous attainders, but no record has been found of a parliament at Coventry in the reign of Edward IV. Dugdale has unaccountably omitted to advert to the existence of this or of any other mint in the county. So completely are all traces lost at Coventry, that there is not even a tradition in regard to the place where the mint was situated. It was, however, probably at Cheylsmore, the ancient dwelling of the De Montalts, and in later times a royal domain ; this supposition would account, as Ruding remarks, for the deficiency of any evidence in the corporation records with respect to the mint, as Cheylsmore was not within their jurisdiction. A well-known local antiquary, the late Mr. Thomas Sharp, states, in a letter dated 1806, that he had not discovered a trace of this mint in his extensive researches into the corporation books, nor in any document whatever.⁷ It is, however, certain, as Ruding affirms, that the Coventry mint existed some time prior to 9th Edward IV. (1469). The great rarity of the coins struck there gives reason to suppose that the existence of the mint was of short duration, and this supposition is confirmed by the fact that there are in the Exchequer records mint accounts of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Edward IV., being those of the warden and the master, whose offices are therein stated to have extended over the whole realm, but the mint of Coventry is not once mentioned.

The last of the Warwickshire mints to be named in these brief notices is that of Tamworth.⁸ There is a penny of Eadweard the Martyr, which appears to have been struck there, as it bears the mark—AT TAMWO :⁹—No other coin occurs in any subsequent reign until that of the Confessor, of

⁶ Leland, *Itin.*, vol. iv. p. 119. We do not find in Dugdale any summons to a Parliament at Coventry during the reign of Edward IV.

⁷ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 224, note.

⁸ Ruding, *ut supra*.

⁹ Or TAMWO ; *ibid.* vol. i. p. 132.

whom there is a coin marked—AT TAMW :—one of Harold II. inscribed—AT TAN :—may have been struck at Taunton. There are coins of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus, and of Henry I., undoubtedly the produce of the Tamworth mint, and inscribed accordingly.¹

At a much later period may be noticed certain half-crowns struck during the troublous times of Charles I., which have on the obverse the initial W marked upon them under the horse. These pieces have been regarded by some collectors as struck at Warwick, but on no sufficient authority; and from their workmanship it is more probable, as Ruding has suggested, that they were struck in the more westward parts of England.²

In the foregoing notice of Warwickshire numismatics, it has been endeavoured to gather together the scattered facts, familiar doubtless to those who are versed in the annals of the English coinage, but which some archæologists assembled in the county on occasion of the meeting of the Institute may, it is hoped, regard as an acceptable contribution to the series of local matters of investigation. It is obviously very desirable to comprise within the range of such an annual gathering every subject auxiliary to historical or topographical enquiries in the district visited.

These notices would be incomplete without a description of the medal struck on an interesting occasion, and immediately connected with historical events in the county. I allude to the rare piece known as the "Kineton Medal," of which the best example is doubtless that which has enriched the extensive Warwickshire collection now in possession of John Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge House near Warwick, the result of his father's judicious and indefatigable researches.

The medal in question commemorates the meeting of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria at Kineton, a few miles south-east of Warwick, on July 13, 1643. On the obverse are seen Charles I. and his queen, crowned, seated upon chairs, their

¹ In Ruding's list of the Conqueror's mints, vol. i. p. 150, TAM and TAN are given as indicating Tamworth. In the large collection of coins of that king found in 1833 at Bedworth, Hants, upwards of 6500 in number, there were five of the Tamworth mint. Of these, three are inscribed TAM (Tamw.) with the

monayer's name BRVNIO; on two is read TAMPR, with the name COLO. Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 14. The coins of Rufus struck at Tamworth are inscribed TAN and TAMW; those of Henry I. bear TAMEWY. Ruding, vol. i. pp. 162, 168.

² See Ruding, vol. ii. p. 378, and Supplement, plate v. fig. 27.

right hands united; they are represented trampling upon a dragon; the king is in armour; above his head is the sun, above hers the moon and the Pleiades. Legend, CERTIUS PYTHONEM IUNCTI (when united they will more certainly destroy the dragon.) On the reverse is the following inscription:—

XXX. IXL.

CAROL. ET. MARIAE.

M.B. F. ET. H.

R. R.

IN. VALLE. KEINTON.

AVSPICAT. OCCURRENT.

ET.

FVGATO. IN. OCCIDENT.

REBELLIVM.

VIOT. ET. PAC. OMEN.

OXON.

M.DC.XL.II.

During the autumn and winter of 1642, the king's party in Cornwall and the West of England had gradually gained ground, and on 16th May, 1643, defeated their opponents under the Earl of Stamford in a sharp encounter at Stratton. To support the royal cause in these parts the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice were sent with a regular force, and having joined the local partisans they proceeded to the subjection of Somersetshire. To check this party Sir William Waller was entrusted with a complete army. After several skirmishes, a serious encounter took place upon Lansdowne Hill near Bath, without any very decisive issue, but with considerable loss to both parties. The royalists determined now to proceed to join their force to the king's at Oxford, but Waller so hung upon their rear and so accumulated his army as he advanced, that his great superiority put them to great risk, and induced them to halt at Devizes and send to the king for a reinforcement which might enable them to proceed on their route. The king had anticipated their difficulties and despatched Lord Wilmot with a considerable body of cavalry. Waller determined to prevent these forces from joining the army in Devizes, and drew up his men on Roundway Down, on which the cavalry must necessarily advance. Finding himself superior in numbers, and

elated with the confidence of success, he incautiously moved from the advantageous ground on which he had placed himself, and advanced to the attack ; his forces were received with a degree of firmness which surprised them, and after a sharp conflict were obliged to give ground, and finally bear back upon the other lines. Lord Wilmot vigorously pressed forward, and so entirely routed them that scarcely a horseman was to be seen. Waller's infantry still stood firm, but Lord Wilmot having by a desperate charge seized their cannon and turned them against themselves, they also fled, and the whole army was dispersed in confusion. Waller himself with a small train with great difficulty escaped to Bristol. This important success gave great spirits to the royalists. It occurred upon the 13th July, 1643, about the very hour when the king and queen happened to meet upon the field at Kington, near Edgehill, where, in the preceding October, the celebrated battle had been fought. When they met, the queen was advancing with a well-appointed reinforcement of 2000 foot and 100 horse, with cannon, mortars, and ammunition ; this timely supply of troops, occurring at the same time with Waller's defeat, had an important effect on Charles's party for the time, and compelled Essex to abandon his project of attack, and indeed to withdraw his army discontented and dispirited to Uxbridge. This coincidence of prosperous contingencies was happily seized by the medallists, and gave occasion to the piece here described. The sun and moon over the heads of the king and queen symbolise Apollo and Diana, the children of Latona. The dragon is the Python which was sent to destroy her, but killed by Apollo immediately after his birth ; it here represents the rebellious parliament. The allegory is not very complete ; the parliament was only injured, not destroyed, and Diana does not appear to have been at all instrumental in the destruction of Python.

This medal is of silver, struck at Oxford, and extremely rare. It was first described by Evelyn in his treatise upon Medals, having been accidentally found in a field belonging to him. It afterwards came into the possession of Mr. Bartlett, at whose sale in 1787 it was purchased by Mr. Hodsol for £25 10s. ; it then became the property of Mr. Tyssen, and at his sale was purchased for £6 by the late Mr. Staunton. It is now, as before mentioned, in possession of his

son, John Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge House near Warwick. The medal weighs 184 grains; diameter, $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch; the workmanship is very rude, the relief low, and the metal appears to have been cut out of a piece of plate. The only other specimen known to me, formerly in the possession of Mr. W. D. Haggard, was purchased for the collection at the Bank of England.³ In the British Museum there is a cast in silver.

The allusion to Charles and his queen under the symbols of the sun and moon was not limited to this medal. Poets also adopted the same allegory. Thus, Sir John Beaumont writes:—

“ Our Charles and Mary, now their course prepare,
Like these two greater lights,
Which God in midst of heaven exalted to our sights,
To guide our footsteps with perpetual care,
Times happy changes to declare.
The one affords us healthful daies, the other quiet nights.”

³ The Kington medal is figured by Pinkerton, *Medallio History of England*, plate xvf. fig. 9, p. 47. The late Mr. Nightingale asserted, in the *Numism. Chron.* vol. xiii. p. 180, that the Kington medal was executed by Thomas Rawlins, a devoted royalist, associated with Briot in the royal mint. The medal, Mr. Nightingale suggests, “was probably, from the rudeness of the workmanship, done on the spot where the battle was fought, the hurried work of a few hours.”

⁴ *Bosworth Field, with other Poems*, by Sir John Beaumont, Bart. See also Cowley's lines on the Royal Meeting on Kington Field, *Works*, vol. i., 340; Cartwright's Verses in praise of Henrietta Maria, &c. The late Mr. Hamper printed “Two Copies of Verses on the Meeting of King Charles I. and his Queen, in the Valley of Kington, below Edge Hill;” 4to, Birmingham, 1822. 25 copies only printed.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE
TROAD. ON THE SITE AND REMAINS OF CEBRENE.

By FRANK CALVERT, Hon. Corresponding Member of the Archaeological Institute.

THE territory of Cebrenia has been assigned to the northern or right bank of the Scamander by, I believe, all modern writers on the topography of the Troad.

Leake supposes it to have occupied the higher regions of Ida on the west, and the valley of the Menderé as far down as Iné, which he identifies with Neandreia, and he places the metropolis of the territory at Kourshounlu-tepéh (on the upper course of the river), where Dr. Clarke discovered considerable remains.¹ Webb follows the general opinion, and places the town to the north of the Menderé, or Scamander.² These conjectures have been chiefly based on those passages in Strabo which mention that territory in connection with the district of Ilium. The statement in particular, that the long ridge separating the Simoisian and Scamandrian plains "extends as far as Cebrenia,"³ undoubtedly points to the extension northward of this territory, in the vicinity of Balli-Dagh and Bournabashi. This agrees, too, with a passage in Xenophon's account of the second Peloponnesian war, which describes Cebren as situated "on the side of Ilium, next Lectum."⁴ Strabo, in the section preceding that above quoted, defines Cebrenia as consisting for the most part of plains, and as situated "below" Dardania, and nearly parallel to it.⁵ The word *ἐπὶ*, used topographically, always denotes *nearer the sea*. We find in the same passage that the territory of Dardania occupied the mountainous tracts at the foot of Ida, and that it bordered on Ilium towards the east.

In framing the above description the geographer, it will

¹ Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 274.

² Osservazioni intorno allo stato antico e presente dell' Agro Trojano, p. 65.

³ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 21.

⁴ Xen. *Hell. Bk. iii. c. 1, § 17.*

⁵ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 23.

be observed, takes his survey from the shores of the Hellespont, looking southwards. On the other hand, in his subsequent account of the opposite side of the country, near Cape Lectum and along the gulf of Adramyttium, we find that he again mentions Cebrenia as among the territories in that direction. He had previously stated that Hamaxitus was close to Cape Lectum.⁶ He goes on to say, "the Neandreians are situated above Hamaxitus, on this side (*i. e.*, northwards) of Lectum, but more towards the interior, and nearer to Ilium, from which they are distant 130 stadia. Above (*i. e.*, further inland than) these people are the Cebrenii; and above the Cebrenii the Dardanii, extending as far as Palæ Scepsis and even to Scepsis."⁷ In the same section he further says, "the country comprised in the districts of Antandria, Cebrene, Neandreia, and Hamaxitus, as far as the sea, opposite to Lesbos, now belongs to the people of Assos and Gargara." The general position of the other districts here named in their order being known, that assignable to Cebrenia on the map will appear by applying to it the annexed diagram.



The statement found in Pliny respecting Cebrene fully bears out this view of its extension to the vicinity of the Adramyttian Gulf, for, enumerating the places on the western coast of the Troad, in a direction from south to north, he says—

"The first place in Troas is Hamaxitus, then Cebrenia, and then Troas itself, formerly called Antigonía, and now Alexandria, a Roman colony."⁸

The only other particulars given by Strabo respecting Cebrenia are, that the Scamander divides it from Scepsis.⁹ He explicitly defines the latter district as occupying the higher parts of Ida towards the east.

A comparison of these various notices will show that the territory of Cebrenia lay to the south of Ilium and Dardania; this last district extending towards the east as far as the junction of Cebrenia with Scepsis; that it was bounded to

⁶ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 47.

⁷ *Ib.* § 51.

⁸ Pliny, lib. v. c. 30.

⁹ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33.

the east by the upper course of the Scamander, which separates it from Scepsis, and that its western limits were the district of Neandreia, in the neighbourhood of Tchigri-Dagh. Consequently, it must have been situated for the most part on the left bank of the Scamander; and the plains of which this extensive district chiefly consisted, according to Strabo, are to be identified with those of Baïramitch, in the fertile valley of the Menderé.

As regards the metropolis of the territory, Strabo merely states there was formerly a town named Cebrene, without indicating its position.¹ That this town was situated in the southern portion of Cebrenia appears probable from a passage in Xenophon, which describes the march of Dercyllidas from Ephesus and Æolis to Cebren *first*, then to Scepsis (Kours-hounlu-tepéh), and lastly to Gergis² (Balli-Dagh). And again, from another passage of the same author, mentioning the reception of Charidemus by "Ilium, Scepsis, and Cebren."³

The above comprises all the information that can be gathered from ancient authorities as to the situation of the city of Cebrene. As these seemed to assign to it a position south of the Scamander, I was induced to search for it in that direction. On arriving at the Turkish village of Turkmanlı, I ascertained that the remains of an ancient stronghold were to be found on the neighbouring hill of Tchali-Dagh ("Bush Mountain"), which furnished building material to all the surrounding villages. This hill is situated three miles S.S.E. from Turkmanlı, and nine miles S.W. by W. from Baïramitch. Ascending its northern slope, I was rewarded by the discovery of a site not hitherto visited, so far as I am aware, by any modern writer.*

¹ Strabo. lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις ποτὲ Κεβρένη.

² Xen. Hell. lib. iii. c. 1, § 17, 19, 21.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Webb does not appear to have observed the numerous remains of antiquity in this neighbourhood. "Continuando a scendere la valle dello Scamandro si arriva a Turkmanlı . . . In nessun di questi luoghi ci venne fatto di scoprire reste di antichità, nè di applicarne la posizione a nessuna città antica."—Agro Trejano, p. 65. Dr. Clarke says, on the contrary, "Before entering Turkmanlı, we observed the appearances of mounds heaped upon the soil, together with a

few granite pillars, some of which were still standing, and other remains denoting the site of some ancient citadel or temple. Various antiquities may be noticed in the whole of this route: they are very abundant in and about the village of Turkmanlı."—Clarke's Travels, p. 124. The granite pillars here mentioned do not appear to have been brought from Cebrene, where all the remains are of primitive limestone or marble and schist. The ancient site referred to is not that described in the present memoir, but other and far less considerable remains close to the village.

As the remains were evidently those of a very considerable fortified town, bearing every mark of the highest antiquity, I could not but at once identify them with Cebrene, "a very strong and ancient place," according to Xenophon's description.⁵

The town walls are from eight to ten feet in breadth, and, where complete, upwards of ten feet in height. They comprise a circuit of about three miles, and are distinctly traceable in their whole extent. Their course is over uneven ground. Facing the N.E. they cross the spur of a hill, upon whose summit is the Acropolis; and then, skirting the edge of some cliffs to the N.W., they descend and take in part of an elevated valley towards the west and south. The walls appear to have been built at different epochs. Those of a part of the Acropolis, and the inner city-walls facing the south, consist, like the "walled Tiryns" (Τίρυνς τευχίεσσα) of Homer,⁶ of irregular masses of rock of a Cyclopean character. Those in the valley, and across the spur on the N.E. side of the Acropolis, are evidently the work of a later age, being formed of smoothly hewn blocks laid in more or less horizontal courses (see Sketch C). The wall in the lower part of the town has been in a great measure covered by the accumulation of soil washed down from the hill, completely filling it up on the inner side, and leaving but two or three layers of stone on the outer. An excavation made by a peasant, in order to construct a stable, uncovered the wall to a depth of ten feet without reaching its base.

Five gates are to be traced in the city walls; the principal ones being situated in the valley. And the remains of a causeway are visible part of the way down the gradual descent from thence to the plain of Baïramitch, in the direction of Bounar-bashi.⁷

Vestiges of ancient buildings are found all over this site, but especially towards the summit of the hill, where there are the foundations of what appears to have been a public edifice, consisting of large square blocks of stones. A rocky

⁵ "Κέβρην μάλιστα ἰσχυρὴν χωρίον."—Xen. Hell. lib. iii. c. 1, § 17. Strabo also (lib. xiii. c. 1, § 47), speaking of the Neandreians and Cebrenians, terms them the inhabitants of strongholds (τῶν φρουρίων)

⁶ Iliad ii. 559.

⁷ Not the better known Bounar-bashi to the north, but a village between Turkmanli and Baïramitch, which, like the former, derives its name from the numerous springs near it.

eminence near this building has been cut away, so as to form a small cliff on its eastern side. There is another excavation at the summit, square in shape, and rather large and deep. Building material seems to have been very abundant at Cebrene, especially towards the east, where there are extensive quarries.

Tombs are found in all directions outside the city walls, except on the summit of the spur; but most of them have been opened, and their material, consisting of white marble, and micaceous-schist slabs, carried away. Some, however, I found intact on the southern and northern sides of the city, and these I excavated. The relics discovered in all showed an early period. Those to the south contained an armed head in terra cotta, resembling that found by Colonel Leake⁸ at Pyrgos, in all except that the highly ancient inscription in front, and the figures on the cheek-pieces are wanting. There were also a light-colored scyphos, with black or maroon-painted pattern, an aryballus, and cones of greenish-colored clay. Besides these fictilia, there were some small gold, silver, and bronze ornaments, and a bronze phiale $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

The tombs on the north side, just below the cliffs and Acropolis, are apparently of a yet earlier date. In one of them I found a large one-handed vase bearing a crescent in relief on the body, and two smaller vessels, all of unglazed earthenware. On the inner surface of one of the side-slabs of this tomb, there is an inscription which has not yet been deciphered.

Other inscriptions have been found in other tombs near this, and in a similar position; and some of the slabs are also worked in reticulated patterns.

During a week's stay at Tchali-Dagh, I obtained from the Yûrûks a number of coins found by them on the site itself, and immediate neighbourhood. Amongst 71 that could be deciphered, no less than 25 were of Cebrene, including one picked up by myself in the Acropolis. Deducting 11 non-contemporaneous coins (Roman, Byzantine, &c.), this gives a proportion of 42 per cent. of Cebrenian coinage, against 58 per cent. divided amongst thirteen neighbouring districts and islands.⁹

⁸ Travels in the Morea, vol. i. p. 47.

⁹ The following is a statement of the

whole: Cebrene, 25; Alexandria Troas, 9; Gergis, 7; Scopsia, 3; Gargara, 3;

I cannot but consider this as strong evidence in favour of the identity of Tchali-Dagh with Cebrene. The silver coins of Cebrene bear the type of a ram's head, sometimes with the letters KEB or KEBPH; and a punch mark on the obverse. The brass coins also have the ram's head, with or without the letters K or KE; and on the obverse Apollo's head. Another variety bears a female head, with the monogram composed of K and E conjoined (the K inverted), embracing the whole obverse.

The upper part of the hill is composed of primitive limestone, and its base—that is to say, the elevated valley above-mentioned—of serpentine and clay slate. Like the rest of the Ida range, of which it forms a spur, Tchali-Dagh is covered with pine forests, as in the Homeric age; and the Yûrûks (mountain tribes) who have their huts on this mountain, are all occupied in cutting the timber of these trees.

The antiquity of Cebrene, mentioned by Xenophon, is further attested by the Homeric epigram: "Another tree sends forth better fruit than thou, O pine! on the heights of many-recessed, wind-swept Ida. There shall the sword of Mars fall upon earthly men, when the Cebrionian men possess it."¹ According to Demetrius of Scepsis, Cebriones, the spurious son of Priam, received his name from the district of Cebrenia, or more probably from the city of Cebrene.² There was a river Cebren, the mythical parent of Cœnone, wife of Alexander Paris; and, according to Demetrius, the sepulchre both of Paris and Cœnone existed in Cebrenia. This river may perhaps be identified with the Iné-Tchai, which has its source in the mountain near Cebrene, and swells into a considerable torrent in winter; traversing the plain of Samonium it falls into the Scamander, near the modern town of Iné.

Neandrea, 2; Æolia, 2; Thasos, 2; Mitylene, 2; Assos, 1; Hamaxitus, 1; Proconnesus, 1; Cyzicus, 1; Cyne 1; Roman, Byzantine, &c., 11; unascertained or illegible, 10; total, 81 coins, all of brass, except 1 of Gargara and 1 of Mitylene, which are of silver.

¹ Homeri quædam Epigr. ex Herodoto de vita Homeri; epigr. Pinus.

² Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1. § 23. Stephanus Byzantinus says, on the contrary, that

the city derived its name from Priam's son; but it has been justly remarked, that if the name of Cebrene or Cebrenia were derived from Cebriones, it would have been, according to analogy, Cebriouia.—See note to Behn's edition of Strabo, vol. ii. p. 360. The ethnic name, according to Stephanus, was Κεβρήνιος, Κεβρήνιος, and Κεβρήνιος.—Steph. Byz. s. v. Κεβρήνιος.

The purely Phrygian, that is, Thracian and pre-Hellenic origin of Cebrene may also be deduced from Strabo's notice in connection with the Troad of a tribe in Thrace called Cabrenii.³ After the immigration of the Greeks into Asia Minor, the Æolians of Cumæ sent a colony to Cebren, according to the statement of Ephorus, as quoted by Harpocrates.⁴

The city Cebren surrendered to Dercyllidas the Lacedæmonian (B.C. 399), who marched from thence against Scepsis and Gergitha.⁵ Charidemus of Orens, the Athenian general, exiled from his country at the demand of Alexander the Great (B.C. 355), was hospitably received by the inhabitants of Cebren, as well as of Ilium and Scepsis, who allowed him to enter those cities.⁶ Demetrius states that there was a continual feud between the people of Scepsis and the Cebrenii, until Antigonus removed both of them to his new town of Antigonía, afterwards called Alexandria Troas. The final extinction of Cebrene as an inhabited town may with great probability be assigned to this event, which took place towards the close of the fourth century before Christ (between the years 306 and 362?); for although the Scepsli obtained permission from Lysimachus to return to their country, the Cebrenians remained at their new place of abode.⁷ Strabo mentions Cybrene as a city no longer existing; and in his time, the former territory of the Cebrenians was possessed by the people of Assos and Gargara.⁸

³ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 21.

⁴ Harpocrates, s. v. Κέβρηνα.

⁵ Xen. Hell. lib. iii. c. 1, § 17.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16, § 17.

⁷ Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, § 33.

⁸ *Ib.* § 31.

Original Documents.

ROLL OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY CONTAINING VARIOUS LEGAL FORMS.

Communicated by the Rev. JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A.,
Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford.

We are indebted to the kindness of Professor Rogers, for having brought under our notice a parchment Roll recently purchased at Oxford by Baker Morrell, Esq., and previously in possession of Mr. Kirtland of that city. Through the courteous permission of Mr. Morrell it has been entrusted to us for examination.

The Roll, measuring 9 feet 4 inches in length by 9½ inches in breadth, and consisting of four membranes, is in a handwriting evidently of the end of the thirteenth century, the period to which, by internal evidence, it may be assigned. It contains a great variety of legal forms which are divided into four classes. The contents of the first class are shown in the *Explicit*, which is as follows:—

“Explicit modus omnium cartarum, convencionum, cirographorum, obligacionum.” As the preamble to this class appears to be of sufficient general interest, we give it at the end of these remarks.

The second class is thus entitled, “Hic incipit modus prepositandi sub compendio computandi;” and the duties of a Ballivus or Prepositus are thus shown at the commencement:—

“Quoniam Compotus inter magnates et ceteros minores dominos est valde necessarius, ut sciant quantum expendere possunt de suo proprio per annum, ne modum excedant nec per negligenciam decipiantur in suis expensis faciendis, ideo sub compendio modus computandi ordinatur sic omni superfluitate remota. Quicumque vero fuerit ballivus seu prepositus alicujus qui se intermittere debeat de rebus domini sui in aliquo manerio custodiendo seu promovendo, post ponatur in suo compoto dies et annus sui introitus, postea vero Inventorium in quodam scripto cirograffato ponatur, cujus una pars penes dominum remanebit vel seneschallum, et altera pars penes prepositum vel ballivum; et seriatim nominentur in illo scripto omnia que inveniuntur in aula, in camera, in coquina, in bracia, et sic de ceteris domibus dicti manerii et de utensilibus earundem; consequenter de animalibus quorumcumque generum, ut de equis et bobus, vaccis, et sic de ceteris animalibus inventis.”

The preamble then sets forth various other matters which ought in like manner to be contained in the *Compotus*, under the heads of *receptiones*, *liberaciones*, *census grangie*, &c., and concludes as follows:—

“Taliter debet rotulus titulari.

"Compota J. prepositi de manerio de N. a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi xxvij. usque ad eundem anno revoluto." (Sept. 29, 1299, to Sept. 28, 1300.)

The form of the annual account to be rendered by the Prepositus is then given, setting forth in very full detail the receipts and expenditure relating to farm produce, cattle, and wages for labor, with numerous miscellaneous items, giving a curious insight into the general management of an estate, the incidental outgoings, manorial customs, and services. For instance, with receipts for pannage, "*averarium*," and for wards and reliefs, &c., the Prepositus renders account "*de iij. s. de salesilvero*." This custom does not appear to be of frequent occurrence. It is explained by Bishop Kennett in the Glossary to his Parochial Antiquities, as a commutation for the service of carrying salt to the lord's larder.¹ These particulars, however, are doubtless fully shown in many original accounts of this nature, with which those readers who take interest in such statistical evidence are familiar.² At the conclusion we find the form of acquittance to be given annually to the Prepositus under the seal of the seneschal.

The third class is headed thus:—"Hic incipit testamentarium et post modus componendi testamenta subtiliter faciendas" (*sic*); and commences with some instructions as to the preparation of a will. It contains the form of a will at considerable length, in which so many curious bequests occur, that it has been thought desirable to give the entire document. It will be found at the close of these remarks.

The fourth class is entitled "*Atachiamenta*;" it seems to contain forms illustrative of proceedings in the Hundred or County Court, and before the Coroner. Among those before the Coroner is a curious inventory of the goods and chattels of a man supposed to have been found slain. They consist of furniture and effects. Those "*in Aula*" include "*unum caminum ferreum, j. seaccarium cum familia, j. pallium de Hibernia*." In the "*Camera*" were horse-shoes, nails, and 40 cheeses; in the pantry, bread-knives, table-cloths, &c.; 62 silver spoons, and six spoons of wood for the servants; "*in promptuario*" were barrels, a cask of cider half full, cups of "*macere*," or mazers, with silver hoops and feet; in the larder were carcasses of oxen and sheep, bacon, salt, &c. Then follow the kitchen vessels and utensils, and the implements in the cart-house and grange, concluding with the horses and other live stock in the stables.

On the Roll are endorsements by various hands, probably not much later than the forms already described; they seem to relate to ecclesiastical affairs; the last is a transcript of an Indulgence, dated in the 6th year of Boniface VIII., which will be found at the close of the following extracts from the Roll.

A. W.

¹ Paroch. Ant., vol. ii. p. 187. In an inquisition into the customs of the manor of Piddington, Oxfordshire, it was found that one penny was paid "*pro Salt-sylver*" by each of the servile tenants at the feast of St. Martin, "*vel caria bunt salem domini de fero ubi emptus fuerit ad lardare domini*;" each having from the lord a farthing "*ad jantaculum*."

² It appears that the lord and his family were in residence at his manor

from Nov. 1 to Feb. 2, the expenses being 25l. 2s., and those of his seneschal, for the same period, 10s. Payments occur for making walls and a great fosse around the lord's garden. Under the expenses relating to the dairy is a payment "*de v. uluis canabi sive canarii emptis ad dactum, precium cujuslibet ijd. pro pressura emptis*." We have not found elsewhere this name for canvas, doubtless from *chanure* or *canure*, hemp.

THE PREAMBLE TO THE FIRST CLASS.

"Per ordinationes novissimas apud Westmonasterium³ factas cartarum omnium dictamen et etiam diversitatem earundem scire possint cupientes modo subscripto. Sciendum est autem quod carta quantum in se est omnibus est generalis; ejus partes ix. sunt principales, quarum una aliquando sic incipit, Sciant presentes et futuri; Secunda pars Tenendum et habendum; Tercia pars Faciendo inde; Quarta pars Pro hac autem donacione; Quinta pars Et ut hec mea donacio;⁴ Septima Datum . . . p⁵ C.; Octava His testibus; Nona Apposicio sigilli. Sciendum autem quod quanta propria nomina ponuntur in carta tot eorum cognomina poni debent. Divisio vero cartarum per ordinem inferius plenissimo patebit. Cautus sit clericus qui cartas componere debeat inquirendo de omnibus circumstantiis libertatum, consuetudinis, et legis, cum singulis suis pertinentiis, vel aliter per suam ignoranciam decipi potest et alios graviter decipere. In primo querat utrum res tenebitur pro homagio et servicio; si sic, ponat in carta Dedi etc. W. de J. pro homagio et servicio (*sic*) suo; si pro gersuma, tunc dicat sic Dedi etc. W. de J. pro xl. s. quos mihi dedit premanibus. Item de novo prohibitum est ne de cetero fiat mediator inter capitalem dominum feodi et tenorem, et propter hoc non scribit in carta Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis, nec Reddendo mihi et heredibus meis, immo capitalibus dominis feodi servicia etc.⁶ Vicia vero cartarum sunt v. que falsas reddunt cartas pariter contenciosas. Primum vicium est mutacio literarum, scilicet quando ponitur H. pro A.; Secundum falsa latinitas que obscurat intellectum cartarum; Tercium est rasura; Quartum est carencia seysyne; Quintum est defectus sigilli. Sciendum est autem quod in carta componenda sic est procedendum. Primo ponendum est nomen donatoris sive confirmatoris et ejus cognomen, et statim postponi debet nomen recipientis et ejus cognomen; sepe vero ponuntur in prima clausula (*sic*) verba, hec Pro homagio et servicio suo; Tercio ponitur Res data concessa et confirmata; Quarto Locus ubi terra jacet; Quinto Quantitas rei date concessa et confirmata: Qualitas etiam debet nominari et causa quare datur, sive pro homagio sive pro gersuma; Redditus etiam debet poni, pariter defencio testimonii cera,⁷ et datum. Sciendum est autem quod res data bis debet nominari in qualibet carta, videlicet, in prima clausula et in clausula Warencie. Necesse est vero ponere vi. testes vel v. admius. Testes vero liberi debent esse et bone fame. Sigillum autem unius coloris. Carta autem multis modis incipere potest: uno modo sic Per presens scriptum cunctis appareat evidenter; vel sic Patent universis; vel sic Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris, vel sic, Sciant presentes; vel sic Universis presentes literas visuris; vel sic Omnibus sancto matris ecclesie; vel sic Per hoc instrumentum cunctis fiat manifestum."

³ We have sought in vain to discover any trace of the new Ordinances to which reference is here made. The forms given in this Roll are obviously later than the Statute of Westminster, *Quia Emptores*, 18 Edw. I. Instructions for preparing deeds are given in Bracton, Britton, and Fleta, but not like those in the Roll; the date of Bracton is earlier than the Statute above mentioned, and

Britton is generally considered to be so, although some passages may render this questionable.

⁴ The sexta pars has been inadvertently omitted.

⁵ Here the parchment is torn, the word may possibly have been *apud*.

⁶ Here the Statute *Quia Emptores* is evidently alluded to.

⁷ The seal.

THE FORM OF A WILL.

"Hoc modo procedendum est in testamento. Die tunc proxima post festum annunciationis beate Marie anno gracie M^o. etc. coram W. capellano parochiali et N. de C. et A. de B. et multis aliis ibidem existentibus et hec audientibus. In nomine patris etc. Ego A. de G. condo testamentum meum in hunc modum; in principio lego animam meam Deo redemptori meo et corpus meum redemptori meo⁸ ad sepellendum (sic) in cimiterio sancti Petri de G. Item ad oblationem prime misse x. s. Item ad secundam missam v. s. Item lego melius averium meum ecclesie de G. nomine mortuarii vel principalis ad remissionem peccatorum meorum. Item ad unum tumbam vij. marcas. Item ad distributionem erogandam pauperibus xl. s. Item in septimo die meo totidem s. Item in die anniversarii mei xx. s. Item ad exequias honorabiliter faciendas xl. s. Item clericis psallentibus in vigilia sepulture mee v. s. Item pro transgressionem (sic) decimarum matrice ecclesie unam marcam. Item luminari beate Marie iij. s. Item fabrico ecclesie ij. s. Item fratribus predicatoribus talis ville iij. s. Item fratribus Minoribus ejusdem loci iij. s. Item domui Sancti Petri sex ulnas panni linei. Item domui sancti Leonardi iij. ulnas panni linei. Item j. pulvinare domui sancti Johannis, et j. cervical⁹ et ij. tapeta, et ij. lintheamina, et unam culeitram, (et) j. coopertorium. Item do vel lego Johanni fratri meo robam furratam de burneto, vel de blueto, sive de russeto, sive rubeo, sive scarleto, sive murreto, sive cameleto, et stragulatam camisiam meam, et braccas cum humbari, et caligas meas cum sotular¹⁰ meos laqueatos (sic). Item husas de alluta. Item zonam de serico, et cultellos meos, et crumenam meam de bisso vel de serico. Item filio meo R. et sorori mee A. ij. anulos aureos, et monilia mea aurea, et quinque coclearia argentea, et unum ciphum argenteum sive de murra. Item lego J. filio meo primogenito palefridum meum cum cella, cum freno, cum calcariis deauratis,¹¹ cum gladio meo, et arma mea, cum akedon, cum humbacinio¹² meo, et unam loriceam meam, et unum capellum ferreum, ocreas meas, et omnia arma mea lignea (sic) et ferrea. Item lego G. filio meo ij. boves, et ij. boviculos, et unum equum badium, et unum scutulatum, et unum candidum, et unum dosinum.¹³ Item lego Emme filie mee tres vaccas, et iij. juvenens, et tres vitulos, et xx. oves matriceas cum agnis, cum totidem hogastris, cum ij. multonibus, et unam suem cum x. porcellis, et sex porcos unius anni, et unum aprum et v. capras cum uno capro; et v. edulos, et tria flammeola, et tres braccas de serico, et tria certa¹⁴ (sic), et unum mantellum furratum cum cuniculis, et duas archas, et unam eistam, et iij. cuyas, et xl. ciphos, et duo euppatoria,¹⁵ et unum tunellum, et j. dolcum cum uno cado, et iij. alveos, et v. quarteria frumenti, et alium ordeï, et

⁸ Sic. Probably an accidental repetition of this phrase.

⁹ In the roll this word is written *cervical*, doubtless a clerical error. It signifies a pillow or cushion: "cervical, pulvinus, Gall. *cousin*," Ducange. Occasionally it seems to designate a "pillow bere," or pillow-case. See vol. x. of this Journal, p. 154, n. 6.

¹¹ This item should seem to indicate that the supposed testator was more

than a frankfein, perhaps a knight.

¹² Probably an error for *humbacinio*, a gambeson.

¹³ Light brown, cinerens. "Dositus vel dosinus, equus asinini pili." See Ducange.

¹⁴ Doubtless for *serta*, chaplets, garlands.

¹⁵ Probably cup-boards, buffets. "Cupparium, colla ubi cupæ servantur."—Ducange.

fabarum, et pisarum, et sigali, et avene, et drageti, et mixtilionis, et unum pellicium sive pellanam de cato, et unam capam de perco.⁶ Item do [et] lego R. heredi meo magnam ollam cream, et unum cacabum, et unam patellam, et unum uroielum, et unum lavatorium, et j. pelvem, et j. craticulam, et unum micatorium, et ij. onofora, et unum mortarium cum pilo; et si quid residuum fuerit in dispensacione executorum meorum dispono, et ad istam execucionem fideliter tractandam A. et B. constituo executores, qui, Deum habentes pre oculis secundum quod anime mee viderint expedire, addendo si fieri potest, vel subtrahendo si aliter fieri non potest, illud testamentum fideliter exsequantur. In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui cum sigillo (sic) executorum meorum A. et B. etc.⁷

THE FORM OF AN INDULGENCE.⁸

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis Nos misericordie divine A. et B. et C. episcopi Neocastron⁹ [etc.] salutem in domino sempiternam. Quia pium est pro mortuis et pro vivis exorare ut a peccatorum suorum nexibus absolvantur, gratum ideo obsequium et Deo pium totiens impendere opinamur quociens mentes fidelium ad pietatis et caritatis opera excitamus; ea propter omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui pro animabus R. et H. et H. puerorum talis, quorum corpora requiescunt in Cimiterio beate Marie de T. Cycestrensis dyocesis, et Nicholai cujus corpus humatum in ecclesia de T., orationem dominicam cum salutatione angelica dixerint mente pia, quocienscunque et quandocunque oraverint pro salubri statu predictorum J. et A. uxoris sue,¹ et H. matris dicti J., dum vixerint, et post eorum obitum oraverint pro animabus eorundem, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, singuli nostrum singulis xl. dierum indulgentias de injunctis eis penitentiis misericorditer in domino relaxamus, dummodo dyocisiani voluntas ad id accesserit et consensus (sic) fuerit. In cujus rei testimonium presenti nostra sigilla jussimus apponi. Datam Rome Anno domini m^o.ccc^o. Indictione xij^a. Pontificatus domini Bonifacii Pape viij. anno vj.

Suama dierum

Istas Indulgentias approbavit dominus G.² episcopus Cycestrensis et per literam autenticam suo signo munitam ratificavit.

⁶ Percoctos or persus, blue. See Ducange, Roquefort, &c.

⁷ We have not found any other instances of the apposition of the seals of executors being mentioned in a will. Although the number of seals appended to wills of the thirteenth century given by Madox (having in one case three labels and in another four), may be explained by the supposition of their being those of the executors, they are not so mentioned in either of those wills. Formulæ, Nos. 768, 769.

⁸ We are not aware that a similar indulgence has been noticed, granted in favor of any individual comparatively of low degree. Amort, de orig. Indulg. pars 1, § vii., enumerates indulgences granted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to persons praying for certain

kings of France, Charles II. King of Sicily, St. Louis, Blanche his daughter, for Edward II. King of England, and his Queen Isabella; no like concession is mentioned on behalf of any person of inferior rank.

⁹ Neocastrum, *Necastro*, an episcopal see in Calabria-Ultra. Probably etc. is here omitted, only one see being named, although three bishops concurred in the Indulgence.

¹ The person previously designated as *talis* is doubtless the same here indicated by the initial J. The copier seems to have omitted, after *talis*,—et A. uxoris sue, or—ex A. uxore sua.

² Gilbert de Sancto Leofardo was elected Bishop of Chichester, Jan. 1287-8; he died Feb. 12, 1304-5.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

November 4, 1864.

The Marquis CAMDEN, K.G., President, in the Chair.

THE noble Marquis opened the proceedings with some appropriate observations on the commencement of another Session. He alluded to the pleasure which he had derived from the successful congress held at Warwick, and from the varied subjects of historical and antiquarian interest to which, under the friendly auspices of their local President, Lord Leigh, the attention of the Society had been advantageously directed.

THE Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D., begged permission to express the deep feeling of regret, in which many around him would heartily sympathise, on occasion of the untimely loss of their talented friend, Mr. Charles Winston. The sudden removal of one whose genial and kindly spirit had, from the earliest establishment of the Institute, cheered their progress and aided their researches, was no common calamity. Mr. Winston's cultivated taste, and his unequalled knowledge of a special subject of mediæval art, which he had thoroughly made his own, were well known even in foreign lands. His ability as a draughtsman in the faithful reproduction of the designs of painted glass in our cathedrals and other churches was of the highest class; whilst the critical judgment evinced in his memoirs, chiefly contributed to the Transactions of the Institute, had justly won the approval of many who appreciate the true principles of mediæval decorative art. The discourses delivered by their lamented friend at the late Warwick meeting were amongst his most instructive contributions to the History of Art in England. The recently completed painted windows at Glasgow Cathedral, to which his counsels and taste had materially contributed, would present a lasting memorial of his artistic attainments.

MR. HENRY ROSS communicated a note of recent discoveries near Southfleet, Kent, on the supposed site of the *Fagniacæ* of the Romans. Traces of Roman occupation occur scattered between the Thames and the great line of road towards London, and recent excavations in a field belonging to Mr. Edward Colyer had brought to light vestiges of a building; the foundations lay about a foot beneath the surface; the ground plan had been exposed to view; the walls measure about 2 feet in width, they are formed of flints picked from the surface and set in excellent mortar with a few bonding tiles. The site adjoins the Sole Field, about 2 miles from Gravesend. The workmen, Mr. Ross observed, were actually engaged in digging up the Watling Street, but the concrete of which the Roman way is composed proved too hard to render its destruction remunerative. Charred wood in large quantities showed that the buildings had been destroyed by fire. Amongst the relics discovered were two British coins of bronze, it is believed imited; they will be given by Mr. Roach Smith

in his *Collectanea*; on one there is a representation of an elephant. An account of Roman relics found there has been given in that work, vol. i. p. 110; plates xl., xli.

Mr. G. W. HEMANS brought under the notice of the Institute the discovery of Roman remains in Essex, near the mouth of an estuary into which the waters of the river Pant and the Blackwater flow, a few miles east of Maldon. He laid before the meeting an accurate plan, with sections, of a considerable portion of masonry disinterred on the promontory known as St. Peter's Head. These vestiges had been found on the estate of Mr. J. Oxley Parker, during extensive works of reclamation of a submerged district on the coast of Essex, under Mr. Hemans' direction; the Roman walling is of the usual massive construction, with bonding courses of tiles. The site is in the parish of Bradwell *juxta mare*, at the N.E. extremity of the Hundred of Dengy, where stood a chapel, of which the remains exist, called "*Capella de la Val*," or St. Peter's *ad Murum*; this, however, had long since been desecrated. It is mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, in 1291, and in other documents. The recent discovery of Roman walling shown in the plan brought by Mr. Hemans appeared to show that this chapel had been erected within the area of the Station, and thence, doubtless, had taken the designation *ad Murum*. It is believed that the vestiges disinterred in Mr. Hemans' operations mark the position of the lost *Othona*, a stronghold constructed towards the decline of Roman power as a defence of the shores of that part of Britain against Saxon marauders. The garrison stationed there under the "*Comes littoris Saxonici*," according to the *Notitia*, was a "*Numerus Fortensium*." The place may have been the *Ithanceaster* mentioned by Bede.

Mr. PURNELL related the results of a visit which he had made a few days previously to St. Peter's Head, through the courteous invitation of Mr. Hemans, and he described the striking aspect of the massive walls, the profusion of broken pottery, of Samian, Castor, and other wares occurring in the soil lately disturbed. Several human skeletons had been found, and a few coins of the Constantine family which were brought by Mr. Purnell for examination.

The Rev. F. Spurrell, Rector of Faulkourn, sent also a detailed account of the discovery and of the chapel of St. Peter; being a memoir read by him at a meeting of the Essex Archaeological Society a few days previously. It will, doubtless, be published in their Transactions, to which we may refer for more ample notice of the remains.

Mr. JAMES YATES, F.R.S., gave the following account of instruments of iron found 1862-3, amidst the ruins of a Buddhist monastery at Sooltan-gunge, on the Ganges, near Calcutta:—"The ruins consist of brick buildings of great extent, being traced over a distance of more than three miles in length, by about half to three-quarters of a mile in breadth. They include square courts, around which were cells for the monks. In one of the cells was found a colossal copper image of Buddha, about 9 feet in height, overthrown and lying prostrate. A Brahman temple, now also in ruins, has been built over the remains of the Buddhist Monastery. My design in this communication is chiefly to describe the instruments of iron found among the ruins. The copper image has been cast in a mould by using a core; the core has been formed upon an iron frame-work consisting of strong rods fixed in different directions. These are visible at the end of one of the arms and one of the legs, which have been broken. The iron

implements consist of, 1, a hatchet, much corroded, being converted into oxide and carbonate of iron; the hole for the handle remains. The lamination of the metal is very distinct, proving that the hatchet was made by hammering. 2. A thin slender leaf-shaped spear-head, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, much corroded. 3. A celt or chisel, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, bearing some resemblance to the celts of European antiquaries, but it is solid and does not appear to have been fitted to a handle. It is laminated, showing its formation by the hammer, and is much corroded. To all appearance it has been used to cut stone, and it may have been used in making the stone images of Buddha found in the ruins with the copper image. A description of these remains has been printed in London at the expense of Mr. Harris, C.E., by whom they were discovered. Photographs of the colossal statue and some other objects are given; a letter is appended, addressed in 1862 by Colonel Cunningham to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society." The statue and also many other antiquities found in the temple noticed by Mr. Yates are now in possession of Mr. S. Thoroton, the Elms, Birmingham.

The Rev. GEORGE CLARKSON, Vicar of Amberley, Sussex, gave some account of the castellated residence of the Bishops of Chichester at that place, and of a series of paintings there in a chamber known as "the Queen's Room." Three of these paintings were brought for exhibition by permission of the Bishop of Chichester, and with the sanction of the Hon. Mrs. Leveson Harcourt, lessee of the Amberley estates.¹ They are on panel, and represent female figures of life size, half lengths, in fanciful armour gilded and silvered. It has been conjectured that they may either represent Sibyls or Amazons, or that they are impersonations of certain cities, as indicated by the heraldic bearing which is introduced in each instance. Amberley Castle was erected by Robert Reade, Bishop of Chichester, the licence to fortify being granted 1 Rich. II., 1379. The more modern buildings and the "Queen's Room" are attributed to Robert Sherborn, who was translated to the see of Chichester from St. David's in 1508.² According to tradition, the paintings were productions of a Flemish artist, Theodore Bernardi, much employed by that prelate, and by whom paintings in Chichester Cathedral noticed in Walpole's Anecdotes, and also decorations in the episcopal palace, are supposed to have been executed. The following remarks on the paintings exhibited were communicated on this occasion by Mr. Scharf, F.S.A.

These curious paintings are well deserving of attention. Each figure, the size of life, is seen to below the waist through an architectural framework, arched at the top; below is a panel bearing, in each instance, remains of an inscription in two lines. They represent females in rich suits of fanciful armour, gilded and silvered, being a mixture of mail and plate, with massive gilt foliage, jewels, bosses, and ponderous chains. Each has a shield on her left arm; the weapon held by each differs in every instance. The faces turn in various directions; the complexion in each instance is fair, shaded with a slaty or purple tint; the cheeks and

¹ Two of these paintings were exhibited by the late Rev. W. Leveson Harcourt in the Museum at the Meeting of the Institute in Chichester, 1853. See Museum Catalogue, p. 94.

² See an account of Amberley Castle in Dallaway's Rape of Arundel, p. 238, where a ground plan and a view of the gateway on the south side are given.

lips are bright pink, the eyes blue, eyebrows raised and much arched. The paintings may be thus described :—

1. A female figure seen nearly full face, holding a sword upraised, the hilt resting on the edge of the frame. She has gloves of mail, her bodice is pink ; a fringe of golden hawks' bells hanging from the epaulette on her right arm is very peculiar ; the shield is golden with a lion rampant *azure* langued and armed *gules*. The dress is quite in the taste of the period of Albert Durer and the Emperor Maximilian. The background is pale vermillion ; the panel is of three oaken boards joined vertically, and measures about 3 ft. 8½ in. by 2 ft. 9½ in.

2. A female figure seen in profile, turned to the right. She wears a large golden helmet with white plumes ; her right hand is raised and grasps a lance, the left resting on her shield which is placed on the edge of the frame in front ; the light being admitted on the face from behind produces a considerable amount of purple shadow. The shield is red, with three maidens' heads having long hair and coronets within a yellow *bordure semé of hearts gules*. Both hands are covered with gloves of mail ; the silvered armour of plate is varied with portions of mail below the elbows. A peculiarly feminine character is given by a plaited white covering to the throat beneath the chain and jeweled collar. In the spandrels of the arched frame are seen the letters R. S. doubtless the initials of the name of Robert Sherborn Bishop of Chichester. This compartment measures about 3 ft. 6½ in. by 2 ft. 6½ in. Background, dark dull blue.

3. This figure is the most artistic and pleasingly colored. She holds a scarlet banner in her right hand, and bears a shield on her left arm, slung by a black guige ; her left hand, covered by a leathern hawking glove, rests on the front of the picture. This figure is turned to the left, the face seen in three quarters, the eyes cast down, and the grey shadows of her features remarkably well massed. The richly ornamented gilt head-dress is lined all round the face with small gilt hawking bells or *grelots*, and to the end of the banner is appended one large round gilt bell. The armour on the body is entirely of silver chain mail, except the two upper rows at the neck, which are gilded. A white sash, shaded lilac, passes over the right arm and round the waist. The background, like that of No. 2, is painted flat dull blue. The device, also, on the shield is similar, excepting that there is no *bordure of hearts*.

The style and ornamentation, together with the costume, would seem to point to a German rather than a Flemish origin. The figures are boldly painted with thick black outlines and well-massed shadows. The black outline on the golden ornaments is enriched by touches of rich transparent brown. The colors are all dull and look like *tempera*. In many parts the panels are sadly worm-eaten. These ladies, viewing them in the German treatment, seem rather to represent Amazons than personifications of towns or Flemish provinces, as has sometimes been conjectured. The single glove of leather and the hawking bells must have borne a marked significance. It is quite clear that the figures are not Sibyls, nor are they in any way connected with religious subjects.

The style of the painting belongs to the early part of the sixteenth century, and so far coincides with the time assigned to the Bernardi family. It is said that Bishop Sherborn (1508-36) employed Theodore Bernardi, a Flemish painter, who came to England with his two sons in

1519 ; of their actual works we know nothing. Vertue ascribed two large paintings that exist in Chichester Cathedral to one Theodore Bernardi, on the ground that they are in the Dutch taste. Walpole adds that they were repainted in 1747 by Tremaine, and he states that Van Mander mentions Theodore Bernardi, of Amsterdam, the master of Michael Coxie. Van Mander distinctly speaks of the master of Coxie as being Bernard of Brussels (Van Orley), a painter well known in the history of art as an assistant of Raphael, and commonly called Bernard Van Orley. It is easy to admit a probable connection, in point of authorship, between the Amberley paintings and the large pictures in Chichester Cathedral. Theodore, whoever he was, and his descendants seem to have lived in Sussex ; Anthony Bernardi and two persons, each named Lambert Bernardi, are registered in the parish of All Saints, Chichester. The quaint old woodcuts in books afford many parallels to the vigorously designed half figures at Amberley ; several figures of similar character occur in some of the "messengers" in the fine painted glass at King's College Chapel, Cambridge. In the Nuremburg Chronicle, also, may be found compositions of a kindred nature. The good and undisturbed condition of the pictures at Amberley, free as yet from the restorer and varnisher, is a matter of great good fortune, and care should be taken in their future preservation to guard against any chance of any alteration of their present genuine, untampered-with condition. They were evidently intended to produce the effect of the old tapestry hangings, and, in their original condition, with all the brilliancy of gold, silver, and the tinsel on the jewels, must have looked very splendid.

The three paintings were subsequently exhibited, by permission of the Bishop of Chichester, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries ; through the liberality of their Council a grant was made towards the expense of certain indispensable repairs, which were skilfully carried out under the care of Mr. Henry Merritt. The crumbling panels have been incorporated with size, the disunited portions joined, and the paint by which the inscriptions had been covered over, apparently in modern times, was removed. These inscriptions, in bold black-letter character with rubricated initials, seemed to have been damaged previously to their being thus painted over ; possibly, their imperfect and unsightly condition had led to their being concealed by a coat of ordinary paint. This was carefully taken off by Mr. Merritt, and the inscriptions were deciphered as follows. Under the painting first described by Mr. Scharf are the lines—

"The excellēt qwenē Sinopis to magnify
Which ruled the hole cōūtre of Euny."

Under the second, with the initials R. S. in the spandrels—

"Cassandra post data vaticinia
Apollinis derisit adulteria."

And, under the third, the words, partly illegible—

"Sirus the noble King of . . . err
Submytta hym sel to"

Sinope, carried off from Bœotia to the shores of the Euxine by Apollo, gave birth to Syrus at the spot where a city named after her was built. We have not found any connection with the Sicilian city Enna situated

the hands, a liturgical appliance called in old inventories "*pomum ad manus calefaciendas*." It is probably of French workmanship, the diameter is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; height, including a little circular foot, 4 in.; it opens by a broad hinge: of the two equal moieties the upper has numerous perforations, the lower being less freely perforated for admission of air to the heated nucleus within. Weight 8 ounces. On the top is the achievement of the bishop for whom doubtless this *pomum* was made; the bearing is *arg.* a lion passant between three crescents *gules*; the escutcheon is ensigned with a ducal coronet, on the dexter side of which is a mitre, on the sinister side a pastoral staff; over all is a bishop's hat with its two cords, each knotted and tasseled in four rows. Canon Rock has given an account of the ancient use of such calefactories in "The Church of Our Fathers," vol. ii. p. 163.—Impression of the chapter seal of Durham Cathedral; it bears the date 32 Hen. VIII. (1540), being that of the new foundation after the suppression of the larger monasteries; on the obverse appears Our Lord seated on the rainbow, and on the reverse, the coronation of the B. Virgin. This seal is described and figured in Dugdale's *Monast.*, edit. Caley, vol. i. p. 229, Seals, pl. iii.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—An oval medallion of copper plate enameled, a portrait of General Washington transferred from an engraving printed in black; the enameled ground of the medallion is white. The General is represented in military uniform, with a cocked hat, three-quarters to the left; over the head is the name—G. WASHINGTON. The dimensions of the plaque, intended probably to serve as an ornament of a snuff-box or the like, are nearly 2 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. This object, lately purchased at Brussels, is probably a specimen, hitherto unnoticed, of the enameled work of Battersea, of which many productions have been noticed in this Journal, vol. xix. p. 297, and in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the Meeting of the Institute at Worcester, pp. 31, 34.—Several heart-shaped charms used in some parts of Germany as of virtue against epilepsy.—A folding spoon, in the original case of stamped leather in form of a tortoise.—Leaden medallion of Christian II., Duke of Saxony, 1601.

By Capt. WYNE WILLIAMS.—A copy of the first edition of Chaucer's works, from the press of Pynson, unfortunately imperfect; it contains numerous woodcuts of spirited design.—A jeweled crucifix, date sixteenth century, of Spanish workmanship.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Two gold posy-rings, recently obtained at Dover; one of them is thus engraved within the hoop—"In love abide till death divide;" with the initials of the Christian names of the wedded pair, E and S, and, above, S, being probably that of the surname Smart, a Kentish family from whom the ring had been obtained. The second ring bears the following posy—"God's providence is our inheritance;" with the initials W and M; that of the surname on this ring is W.

By Mr. C. DURNFORD GREENWAY.—Four documents of unusual interest, preserved amongst evidences relating to the town and county of Warwick.—The original grant to the canons of St. Mary's, by Roger, son of Henry de Newburgh, first Earl of Warwick of the Norman line, constituting them a dean and chapter, in like manner as the canons at London, Lincoln, Salisbury, and York. Date about 1123. Dugdale printed this charter from a register in the Exchequer; *Monast. Angl.* vol. vi. p. 1327, edit. Caley.—Rescript of Pope Clement V. addressed to the Prior of Stone, Staffordshire, regarding a complaint of Robert Tankard, Dean of St.

Mary's, Warwick (1306—1314), concerning certain aggressions by John de Snitterfield and others. Dated at Avignon, 15 Cal. Dec., in the fifth year of his pontificate. A well-preserved impression of the leaden *bulle* is appended by a hempen cord.—Letter from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Captain of Calais *temp* Hen. V. and Hen. VI., dated from that place April 18, and addressed to Thomas Hugford and others in behalf of Sir William Oldhall, to whom the earl had given the stewardship of his lordship of "Saani," probably Saham Tony, Norfolk. A perfect impression of the earl's signet is appended, the device is the bear and ragged staff; a small neatly-formed torse (of paper?) surrounds the impression, a mode of protecting seals not unusually adopted at the period.—Writ of Henry VI., under the royal signet, dated at Coventry, May 31, relating to the affairs of the late Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439, and with whose executors Richard Wright and others had interfered in regard to the execution of his will.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS. By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Seal of the Prior of the Dominican Friars of Bologna; an old impression on dingy colored wax detached from a document. The seal, of small size, is of pointed oval form; device, a figure in monastic attire, probably representing St. Dominick. Around the head there is a nimbus: legend,—
+ s' PRIORIS FRA[TRVM PREDI]CATORVM D' BONO'IA. The impression was obtained at Bologna.

December 2, 1864.

Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following notice of a remarkable sculpture in blue slate, found in India, and brought for exhibition, was communicated by Col. HOGGE, C.B., R.A., through Brigadier-General Lefroy. It represents a bearded figure, strongly resembling antique representations of Jupiter or of young Bacchus, and seated on the ground; naked, with the exception of a waistcloth and a pair of closely-fitting boots reaching nearly to the knees. The head is of fine character; it is encircled by a wreath, and at the back there seems to have been an eagle, of which the outspread wings alone remain. The left foot is lost. The figure in its present state measures 8 inches in height. The interesting particulars regarding the discovery, given by Col. Hogge, are as follows:—

"In the beginning of 1858 a party of the Guide Corps, under the command of Captain, now Brig.-General, Lumsden, accompanied a surveying party to the hills which bound the Valley of Peshawur to the north. Whilst engaged on this duty, Captain Lumsden's attention was called to the ruins of a temple, at a place called Jurnal Ghurrie, which was said by the natives to be of great antiquity. On examining the site, it was found that the ruins were those of a Jaina Temple, but, from the appearance of some of the carved work on the stones, it seemed that the temple had been constructed out of the remains of a much older structure. The place was accordingly cleared out, and the ruins carefully examined. Most of the sculptured ornaments found were of decided Hindoo origin, the statues having the sleepy, downcast look peculiar to Buddhist figures; but amongst them were portions of friezes with figures of a different character; one showed a procession, the leading figures of which seemed to be engaged in making some kind of votive offering to a horse. Several small statues similar to that exhibited were also found, and the whole were sent to

Peshawur. This particular statue having been given to me by Captain Lumsden was separated from the rest. It unfortunately happened that the house in which the remainder were placed was sold, and the new purchaser finding a lot of old stones of the value of which he knew nothing, broke them up and filled up some holes with them. When in Calcutta the statue was sent to the Asiatic Society, and although there seemed to be no doubt of its Greek character or origin, being evidently a statue of Jupiter, it was supposed to have been copied from some older statue by a Hindoo sculptor, who had added the boots and waistcloth to suit his own idea of propriety. Many persons, however, differed from this view, as boots are not known to have been used by the natives of India, and even the waistcloth differs in the folds from anything of Asiatic origin."

On a previous occasion, as stated in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 373, a bronze statuette of Bacchus, terra cottas, coins, and other relics indicating influence of Greek art in the remote parts of the North of India, were sent for inspection by Mr. H. Lawes Long; they had been obtained at Peshawur by Major Hastings, R.A. These relics had been regarded as vestiges, possibly, of the invasion of the northern districts of India by Alexander the Great, B.C. 327. It is impossible, as Gen. Lefroy observed, not to connect the frieze disinterred at Jurnal Ghurrie, representing the deification of a horse, and figures offering incense and performing acts of homage or worship, with the story of the respect entertained by Alexander and his followers for his steed Bucephalus, and the fact that the city Bucephala was founded in its honor on the site of the camp of the Greeks before their battle with Porus. This, however, was on the west bank of the Hydaspes, whereas the ruined temple above noticed is on the west of the Indus, at too great a distance to be identifiable with Bucephala. The statuette, as Gen Lefroy remarked, appears highly curious as marking the gradation of Greek art and, so to speak, the infusion of religious feeling into the mysticism of the Buddhist religion.

A notice, by Dr. THURNAM, M.D., of Devizes, was read, relating to the incised symbols on Stonehenge first noticed by Dr. Tate in 1861, and figured in this Journal, vol. xix. p. 77. This discovery had excited considerable interest and learned discussions during the recent meeting of the British Association at Bath, when a visit was made to Stonehenge under the guidance of the Rev. Harry M. Searth. Dr. Thurnam pointed out the remarkable evidence recently collected from rock-markings near the flanks of the Cheviots, also in Argyleshire and in other places. The highly curious vestiges in Northumberland have been lately described and accurately figured by Mr. Tate, of Alnwick, in the Proceedings of the Berwickshire Field Naturalists' Club. An important work is also in preparation by direction of the late Duke of Northumberland, to whom the attention lately given to the subject is chiefly due. It might be expected that markings or symbols should be found also on Stonehenge, as they had been noticed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson on Long Meg, at the circle of stones near Penrith in Cumberland; they occur also on other megalithic monuments. Nothing, however, had been noticed until the symbols in question were detected by the well-practised eye of Dr. Tate; they were at that time so thickly overgrown with lichen as to escape the notice of any ordinary observer. The circumstance was forthwith made known by him to the Institute, without venturing to speculate on the age or intention of the

symbols, in the fashion of which the archæologist doubtless failed to trace indications of any very remote antiquity. This discovery connected with so remarkable a monument excited attention, and Dr. Thurnam, who is fully conversant with the remains of the obscure early ages, was induced to give it careful investigation; he was led to conclude that the mysterious symbols had been cut on the stone in comparatively recent times, and might have been the work of some casual visitor, who must have found considerable difficulty in the operation, the "Sarsen" stone of which Stonehenge is formed being extremely hard. The subject assumed a fresh interest through the visit of the *savans* congregated at Bath, and Dr. Thurnam pointed out how important it is to ascertain with precision the age and origin of these symbols, in which possibly some ardent advocates of the very remote date of the monument might trace resemblance to Phœnician characters. Professor Rawlinson had, however, truly observed during the late discussion that the markings cannot possibly be earlier than Roman times, if indeed they can claim that degree of antiquity. Dr. Thurnam stated that, according to the testimony of aged persons, it should appear that the symbols were actually cut by an unknown travelling artificer about forty or fifty years ago. Through active researches made by Mr. Kemm of Amesbury, immediately after the visit of the Members of the British Association to Stonehenge, the statement, of which full particulars were given, had been obtained from three persons, of whom one is alleged to have been an eye-witness of the proceeding and resident near the spot. It is difficult to conceive through what motive so laborious an operation, by which, without doubt, the learned might well have been led astray, should have been devised. Dr. Thurnam's memoir on the subject will be given in the Transactions of the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

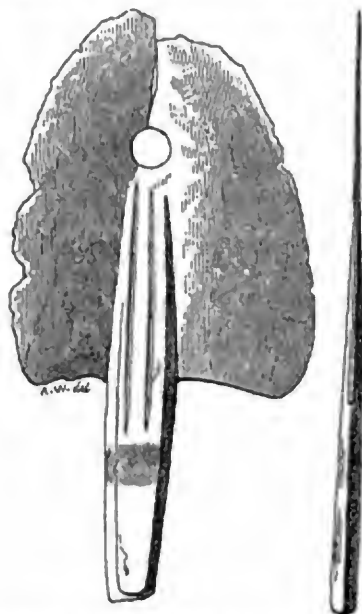
Professor WESTMACOTT, R.A., delivered a discourse on the statue of the *Diadumenus*, obtained for the British Museum from the collection in the Farnese Palace. Printed in this Journal, vol. xxi. p. 338.

An animated discussion ensued upon various questions suggested by the Professor's discourse. Mr. BIRCH remarked, that the expression "*fecit molliter juvenem*" in Pliny's description of the *Diadumenus* by Polyclethus (see this Journal, vol. xxi. p. 341), refers to the age of the youth and the treatment of the statue; that it indicated that the sculptor made a youth just emerging from boyhood with an effeminate type, and that the expression must be taken in contradistinction to "*viriliter puerum*," a manly boy, or a boy coming upon the age of manhood. Mr. Birch said, moreover, that, although the statue is of Pentelic marble, it does not follow that it is the original; it may be an ancient copy, and there are certain peculiarities in the treatment, for instance in the hair, which induced him to think that this may be the case. He desired particularly to call attention to two circumstances connected with the statue. One of these is the stump of a palm-tree at the right leg; Mr. Birch thought that such mode of treatment does not accord with that of the statues of Phidias and other artists of the period; there are, however, few examples on which to ground an argument. The other is the peculiarly rude manner in which the statue had been clamped together, certainly not the kind of reparation used by sculptors of the last two centuries; and, if this could be shown to be Roman, it would go far to prove that the statue was highly esteemed (if not the original) in the days of the Roman empire. Mr. Birch considered that there may have been some haste in deciding that this remarkable sculpture

represents an athlete; it may be a victor who is crowning himself after winning the prize in the foot-race.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

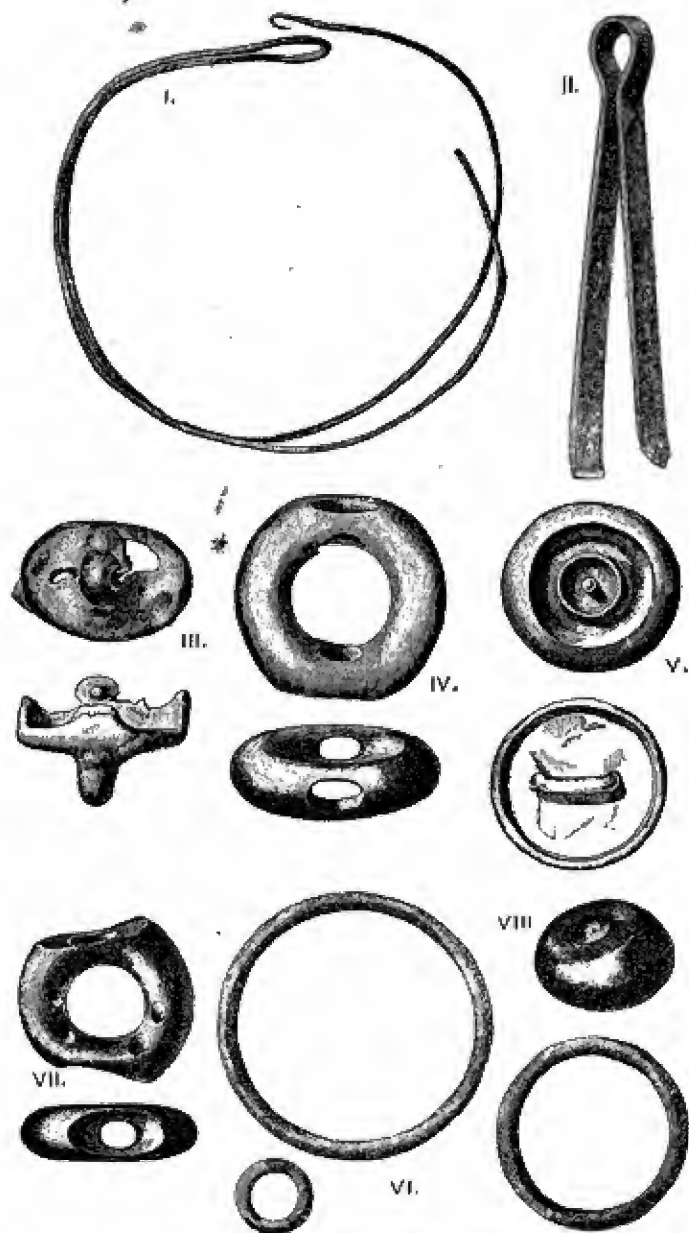
By the Hon. W. O. STANLEY, M.P.—Antiquities of bronze, a necklace of large amber beads, a number of bronze rings of various sizes, a pair of tweezers, an armlet of thin bronze wire, with some other relics, found at the bottom of a little stream which flows by Llanwyllog Church, in the centre of Anglesa. The Ven. Archdeacon of Bangor, by whom these objects were entrusted to Mr. Stanley for exhibition to the Institute, observed that the stream was unusually low, and the channel had lately been widened at that part, which is about 400 yards above the church. There is nothing peculiar in that immediate locality, but Archdeacon Jones stated, that



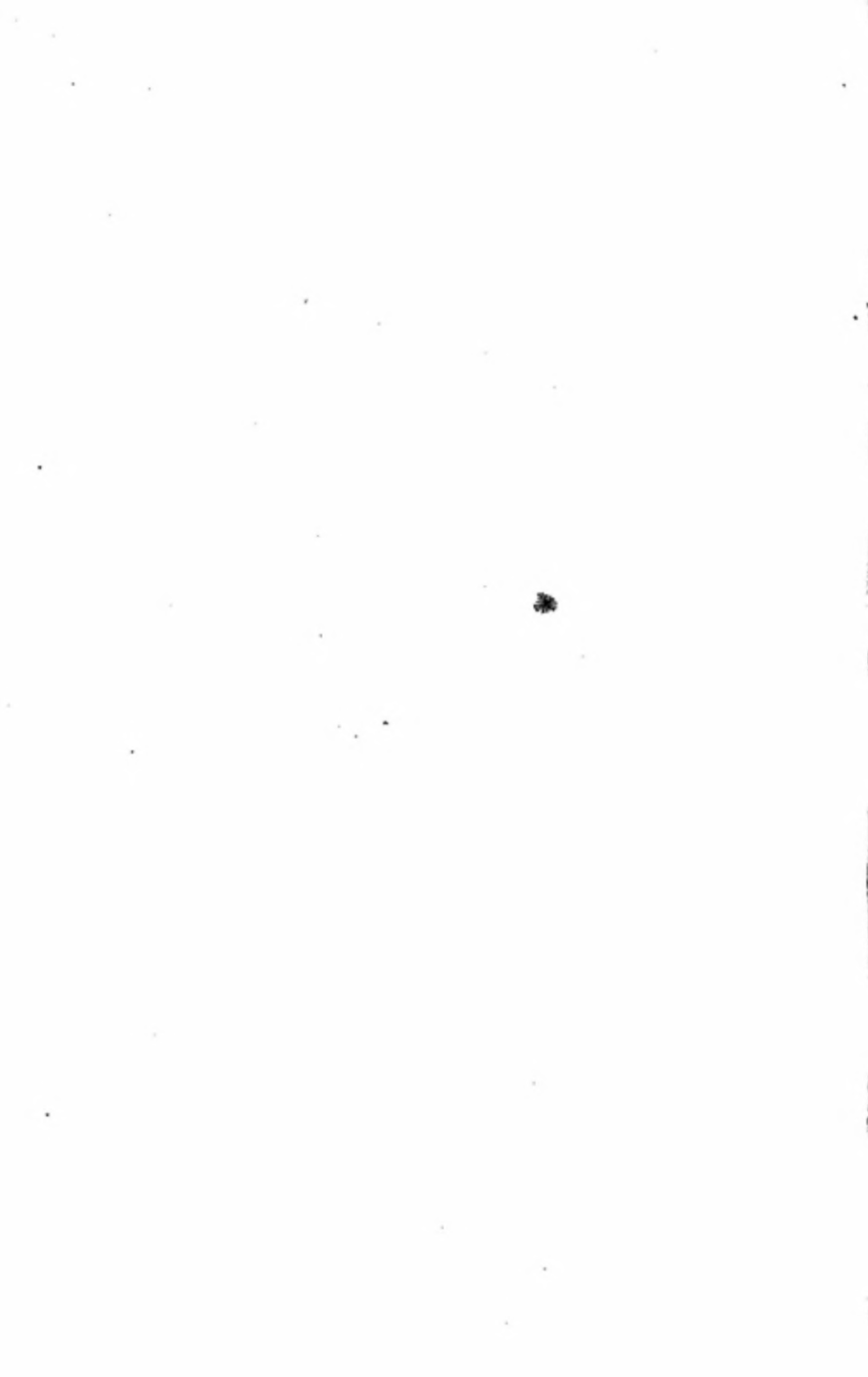
about half-a-mile to the S.E. there is a field called Caer Gad, or the Field of Battle, probably the place which has been pointed out as the scene of a conflict in 1143 between the forces of Owain Gwynedd and the united hosts of the Erse, Manx, and Norwegians. The relics must, however, be regarded as of a much earlier period, and closely resemble objects of similar class found in Ireland, more especially the bifid flat object of bronze here figured (orig. size), resembling an arrow-head, but, according to the conjecture of Irish antiquarians, used as a razor. These peculiar objects are rare, and, as we believe, had previously occurred exclusively in Ireland. Compare a specimen, figured in Sir W. Wilde's *Catal. Antiq. Roy. Irish Acad.* p. 549, fig. 433.

A more detailed notice of the discovery at Llanwyllog will be given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The archdeacon has presented the relics to the British Museum.

By the MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY, through Mr. Soden Smith, F.S.A.—Three massive armlets of bronze, found in ploughing, about three miles N.W. of Aboyne, Aberdeenshire, in ground which apparently had never been broken up. One of them is of almost pure copper, the two others of yellow bronze. Several examples have occurred in North Britain; two are preserved in the British Museum which are ornamented with discs of enameled work, and there are several in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. See Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 448; *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 285. In some instances these remarkable ornaments are in the form of a coil, like a serpent, from which the general type seems to



I. Bronze Armlet; II. Tweezers; III. Looped Setting or Mount, possibly for a Charm; IV. Ring perforated transversely; V. Stud or Button (four of these found); VI. Bronze Rings of various sizes; VII., VIII. Rings of Jet or Stone. All original size.



have been derived; they are of considerable weight: one, found near Altyre, Morayshire, would measure in length, if extended, 37 inches; it weighs 2 lb. 9 oz. It is supposed that these armlets were votive offerings or honorary gifts, and they are assigned to the late Celtic period.

By Mr. H. HARRON, F.S.A.—A curved implement of black flint, found on Corton Beach, midway between Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft, by Mr. C. Cory, Town Clerk of Yarmouth, who resides near the spot where the discovery occurred. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth, at the thickest end, where it seems to have been affixed to a haft, possibly of stag's horn or of wood, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. This object, resembling the curved blade of a small dagger, is beautifully formed, the edges are chipped with great regularity, and it is skilfully shaped to a point.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A cylinder of the best Babylonian period, the century immediately preceding the conquest of Cyrus. The design seems to be Belus, or some deity, crowned, and wearing a long Babylonian robe of numerous squares of needlework (*vestis picta aeu*), he is seated on a throne which is covered with a rich hanging, his footstool being the crowned human-headed bull, or Greek minotaur. The king (perhaps Evil Merodach himself), similarly attired as the god, approaches him with the offering of a young ram, to receive the sceptre and bracelet. Ensigns of royalty are held forth by his tutelary divinity. Behind the monarch stands his queen, or, as some think, a priest, clothed in a similar royal robe, her hands raised in the attitude of adoration, seconding the prayer of the king. Next stands the human-headed bull, with hands crossed upon his breast in the posture of respect; he is shown in front face, and is followed by a crowned female, also in front face, her hands similarly folded. There can be no doubt that these two figures represent the geni of the king and queen respectively. This gem is most remarkable for the admirable drawing and extreme beauty of its mechanical execution. In the latter it equals the finest Greek work in the Archaic style. In its class it is a priceless work of primordial art. The material is the finest fibrous hæmatite (loadstone), the usual material, on account of its mystic virtues, of the cylinders belonging to the Babylonian Empire.—A Jewel of St. George, cut in high relief in a precious sardonyx of several layers, 2 inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. The engraver has most skilfully availed himself of the numerous shades in his material to give effect to the different figures. The dragon is represented in the brown with greenish reflex; the Knight's body in a lighter shade of the same, but his face in opaque white, as are also the fore-quarters of his steed. The trappings of the latter are in light brown. The princess Saba, kneeling in the distance, is in pure white, and the trees have an actual shade of green. The execution of this cameo is truly wonderful; the dragon, St. George and his horse, being in almost full relief, owing to which one fore-leg of the horse has been broken off. This cameo may be placed among the first of the Cinquecento, and is probably the work of Matteo del Nazaro, chief engraver to Francis I., or else of that pupil, whose name is unknown, who has left such extraordinary cameo portraits of Henry VIII. and his family. It is mounted in a simple gold frame surrounded with a cable border marked with black enamel, with an elegant enrichment in green enamel at the back imitating a laurel wreath; and, being a jewel of such extraordinary value, taking into account the estimation in which such works were held at that period, there can be little doubt it was originally a jewel worn

by the sovereign himself or one of his successors, as a jewel of the Garter. This supposition is confirmed by the Tudor rose engraved on the lid of the silver box made to contain it. This jewel, and also the Babylonian cylinder above described, are the property of Samuel Richard Bosanquet, Esq., of Dingeston Court, Monmouthshire, and they were entrusted for exhibition by his kind permission.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Drawings of sculptured coffin-lids found during recent repairs of St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury; the drawings were sent for exhibition by Mr. H. Bloxam, of that town. One of these early memorials appears to be of the twelfth century; the design has much of the Anglo-Saxon character; it was disinterred in June last, beneath the base of a column on the North side of the nave, part of the lower end of the slab being hidden by the column. The second, which seems to be of the same age, was found in September in the South porch. The earliest part of the church is of the twelfth century. A third coffin-lid lay under the tower arch. Mr. Hewitt stated that these relics will be preserved by being affixed to the walls in the restored building.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A remarkable double-edged sword, the blade being engraved on each side with the inscription—*SIXTUS . V . PONT . MAX : ANNO . III.*—between bordures of arabesque ornament, and also an escutcheon of the family arms of that pontiff (Peretti, a lion rampant, holding in its dexter paw three pears, over all a bend) ensigned with the tiara and cross keys. The blade measures in length 3 ft. 9 in., the guard and hilt have probably been renewed. The accession of Sixtus V. took place April 12, 1585; he reigned for five years. It has long been customary that the Sovereign Pontiff, Mr. Waterton observed, should bless on Christmas-eve, about midnight, a sword, and a cap of maintenance. These are afterwards sent as presents to some sovereign prince, but if, as is sometimes the case, they are not given away, they are preserved and blessed again on the ensuing Christmas, and so on until required. The chronicler, Hall, it will be remembered, relates that on May 19, 1514, was received a cap of maintenance and a sword sent from Pope Julius II. with a great company of nobles; and that on the following Sunday they were presented to Henry VIII. with great solemnity in St. Paul's Cathedral. The sword came into the possession of Elias Ashmole, and may be seen amongst the objects given to the Museum founded by him at Oxford; the hilt is of silver-gilt richly chased and set with crystals.⁴ Mr. Waterton has ascertained, on a recent visit to Rome, that the sword blessed by Sixtus V. in the fourth year of his pontificate, 1588, was sent to the Duke of Guise. The fine weapon now in Mr. Waterton's possession is doubtless that which was thus conferred on the head of the Catholic League.

February 2, 1865.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D., in the Chair.

In opening the proceedings CANON ROCK alluded with deep regret to the great loss sustained by the Institute during the previous month, through the decease of two of their earliest and most valued friends, one of them

⁴ Catal. of the Ashm. Mus., p. 140, No. 881. The sword is there described as "given by the Pope (Leo X.) to Henry VIII." Julius II. died in February,

1513-14, and the presentation at St. Paul's Cathedral, on May 21, 1514, actually occurred shortly after the accession of his successor, Leo X.

being the Earl of Ilchester, for several years a member of the Central Committee, and who had very kindly promised to take the part of Local President at the Annual Meeting of the Society to be held in his county in the ensuing summer. The other friendly supporter, now no more, was Dr. Markland, of Bath, formerly Director of the Society of Antiquaries; his cordial encouragement had promoted the purpose of the Institute from the commencement, and his participation in the proceedings and the annual gatherings had frequently cheered their progress during twenty years of friendly intercourse.

A memoir by the Rev. C. W. KING was read, on the Use of Antique Gems in the Middle Ages, being a sequel to his dissertation on Medieval Glyptic Art given on a previous occasion, and printed in this Journal, vol. xxi. p. 319.

The Hon. ROBERT CURZON described a series of ancient helmets preserved in his armoury at Parham Park, Sussex, and brought for examination. His memoir will be found in this volume, p. 1, *ante*.

It was stated that a communication had been addressed to the Central Committee, relating to proposed arrangements for the appropriation of part of Wimbledon Common as a place of public recreation. The apprehension had arisen, apparently on sufficient grounds, that the entrenchment known as Cæsar's Camp was threatened with injury through the projected formation of roads, as it was alleged, crossing the fosse and rampart of the work. A map was sent for the inspection of the Society, indicating certain operations by which, as it appeared, the ancient British fortress must suffer serious injury. In the discussion that ensued the hope was strongly expressed that so remarkable a relic of tribes occupying Britain at a very early period, the only vestige of its class within so short a distance from the metropolis, might be carefully preserved in any operations which may be contemplated.

Mr. WALTER TREGELLAS read a memoir on the camp in question, giving a detailed account of the opinion of writers from the days of Camden relating to Cæsar's Camp at Wimbledon. This memoir will be given hereafter. Some notice of the earthwork, accompanied by a plan, has lately been published by the Rev. W. A. Bartlett in his "History and Antiquities of Wimbledon." Mr. Tregellas stated that he was enabled to make the gratifying announcement of the intention of Col. Biddulph to make the necessary repairs at Castell Dinas Brân, to the perilous condition of which he had on a former occasion called attention.

The following notice of a recent discovery of vestiges, as supposed, of ancient salt works at Northwich, Cheshire, by some writers considered to be *Condite* of the Romans, was received from JOHN ROBSON, Esq., M.D., of Warrington.

"Last Autumn some men who were engaged in making or enlarging a dock in a boat-builder's yard in Castle Northwich, on the west bank of the River Weaver, came upon three shallow leaden vats ten or twelve feet below the surface: they had evidently been used as salt-pans, and were described as lying side by side imbedded in charcoal or burnt wood, the natural soil being sand and clay. There was no appearance of walls, flues, or furnace, but one of the pans had come in contact with the burning wood and had been partially melted, as a portion still has fragments of wood imbedded in the metal. The men had taken possession of the prize, and begun to cut it up for sale as old lead, when the authorities intervened, and

one entire vat with fragments of the others are deposited in the Warrington Museum. The pan that is entire measures about 3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 10 in., and 4 in. in depth; the sides are a little flanged outwards, and at each end is a hole large enough to admit a finger at about half the depth, with a sort of fillet mould with a small loop in the centre, and at each one a fillet going off at an obtuse angle. The rim appears to have been finished with a thin cord moulding. At one end, on the outside, are three perpendicular stamps in low relief. There is a hole at one corner, said to have been made with a pick by the men in getting it out. The bottom surface is also covered with pick marks, but these are original, and the results of salt-making. The lead is from half to three-quarters of an inch thick, and the outside seems in no respect worn or to have suffered injury, so that the brine must have been evaporated by means of hot air in flues. The end of another vat has a more elaborate ornamentation. It is a segment of an ellipse of cord moulding, with crescents externally and below; on one side of this are some letters. This fragment corresponds with the breadth of the first, of which one may suppose about eight inches have been cut off. There is no hole in the centre as in the other pan. Another fragment is in the possession of Dr. Kendrick of Warrington; it contains letters, which have been read—DEVÆ. I am doubtful whether the first and last are anything more than a crescent ornament. The left bank of the Weaver is close to the Castle Hill, which rises above it. This hill has two heads, one just below the other, and was ascended by a narrow, steep footpath. The character of the fortification, if such it had been, was not plain, as the larger summit would hardly have afforded standing room for thirty men: all this is considerably changed within the last ten years. A deep, narrow road runs down to the river. On the hill, and in several parts of the neighbourhood, small urns with burnt bones have been found, some of which are in the Warrington Museum. The very interesting questions—to what period do these salt-pans belong, and how may we explain their deposit in the place where they were found? are much more easily asked than answered. In digging through the towing-path of the river to make a passage into the dock, some human remains were discovered at a depth of seven or eight feet. The greater portion of a male skeleton was removed, which was said to have laid prone, with a thick piece of wood 5 feet long by the side. The head is well formed, and had all the teeth (which, however, were much worn) when taken up. The greater part of another was left in the bank, but nothing else was known to have been found."

The remains which may serve to illustrate the introduction of arts or manufactures, and any processes connected with them, are of such rare occurrence that the foregoing notices cannot fail to prove interesting to our readers, although, as Dr. Robson observes, it may be very doubtful whether these vats or coolers can be assigned to so early a period as that of the Romans. The letters, moreover, are very indistinct. He remarks that the Romans doubtless made salt in the valley of the Weaver. Middlewich is considered to occupy the site of the *Mediolanum* of Antoninus; and the *Salinæ* named by Ravennas as near Chester may have been Northwich. It is clear from Domesday that salt was obtained in the whole district between those places. The manufacture was always under restrictions. Dr. Ray, about 1670, gives an account of the process: the pans were of lead and always of the same size, holding 24 gallons.

The Rev. EDMUND VENABLES described a mural painting lately brought to view on the south wall of the church at Whitwell, Isle of Wight. He placed before the meeting a drawing by the Rev. R. B. Oliver, curate of Whitwell. The little church is a rude, two-aisled building, originally consisting of two chapels, one of St. Rhadegund, belonging to the parish of Gatcombe; the other, of St. Mary, to that of Godshill. In course of time the parish of Whitwell was formed, and the two chapels became the parochial church, the rights of the rector of Gatcombe, to whom the larger chancel belonged, being reserved. The parish altar was almost out of sight at the east end of the smaller aisle. The rector of Gatcombe having lately resigned his rights, his chancel, which was filled with pews, has been cleared, and the altar placed in its proper position, but the old altar remains, so that the church now presents the unusual feature of two Communion tables. The Gatcombe chancel contains some Norman work; the principal part of the church is Early English, but rude, the windows mostly later; the small square tower at the end of the south aisle, and the stone-ribbed south porch, are Perpendicular. Mr. Venables stated that the rock staircase leading through a rift in the cliffs from the Undercliff to the church, at about a mile distant, is known as St. Rhadegund's Path, in common parlance "Redgun." The wall-painting, of which a drawing was shown, represents the martyrdom of St. Erasmus; it seems to be of the fifteenth century. Mr. Akerman has noticed some representations of this legend, *Gent. Mag.* April, 1865, p. 402.

Mr. BURTT gave the following notice of a Book of Ordinances of the City of Worcester, entrusted to him by Mr. Charles Woof, F.S.A., Town Clerk, and brought through his kindness for exhibition on this occasion.

"This interesting volume is lettered 'Ordinances, Edward IV.;' the contents are more comprehensive than its title. Besides the 'Ordinances' of the time of Edward IV., it contains similar regulations in the 12th Henry VII., and transcripts of charters of privileges granted to the city. The later set of 'Ordinances,' embodying in effect the earlier series, is printed in Green's History of Worcester, and a few extracts have there been printed from those of Edward IV., but without any comments or notes. I may, therefore, be justified in drawing attention to such of the principal enactments as appear to have general interest.

"These 'Ordinances' are said to have been made 'by the Kynges comaundement, and by hole assent of the Citesens inhabitantes in the Cyte of Worcester, at their yeld marchaunt holden the Sonday in the feste of the Exaltacon of the Iloly Crosse,' in the 12th year of Edward IV. (A.D. 1466—67); and they relate to the administration of the whole of the affairs of the city, especial regard being had to the corporate property. By the 3rd Ordinance there was to be provided 'a stronge comyn cofur, wth vj. keyes, to kepe yn ther tresour, oon key therof to be delyvered to the High Baillye, and another to oon of the Aldermen, and the iij^d. to the Chamb'leyn chosyn by the grete clothynge, and the other iij. keyes to be delyvered, oon to the Chambleyn by the comyns chosen, and ij. other keyes to ij. thrify comyners trewe, sufficient, and feithfull men.' By the 8th Ordinance the 'Acts' of the Guilds were to be engrossed on parchement, and put into a box called 'a Casket,' which was to be kept by the high bailiff. Ordinance 15 is as follows:—'Also that the bitters be redy with hur horses and bittes to bringe water unto every citezen when he ys required by eny man or child, when eny parell of fuyre ys wthin the Cite, in peyne of lesynge

of 40^d., to the baill' half, and the other half to the comyn tresour.' The word 'bittes' is probably a corruption of 'buts,' for carrying water. Compare the ordinances 12 Hen. VII., regarding 'all persons having bytts.' While on the subject of precautions against fire—always a most serious matter in mediæval times—I will bring together the other regulations which deal with it. At No. 25 we find 'Also that ther be v. fuyre hokes, to drawe at evy thyng wher paryle of fuyre ys in eny parte of the Cite, and they to be sette in iij. parties of the Cite, and grete helpe and nede be that god defende, and the same hokes to be made by the Chamberloyns.' No. 26: 'Also that no chymneys of tymber be suffred, ne thacchyd houses w'tyn the Cyte, but that the owners do hem away, and make them chymneys of stone or bryko by Mydsomer day next comynge, and tyle the thacched houses by the seid day, in peyne of lesynge of a noble, and after that day, every half yere a noble, tyll it be done, to be paydo to the comyn tresour.'

"The 'Assize' or Ordinance for the City of London, in reference to disputes arising out of the building of stone houses instead of wood, was passed in the year 1189. By that assize the aldermen were directed to have hooks and cords for pulling down houses endangered by fire. It is notorious, however, that wooden houses thatched with reeds and rushes were common for a period long subsequent in London, and in the Worcester Ordinances we have evidence of the general construction of houses there at the fifteenth century.

"By another Ordinance it was to be 'a substanciall rule that v. pageantes amonge the craftes be holden yerly,' and 'more certainly kept then they have be before this tymo. The 78th Ordinance is also in support of the pageants of the crafts of the city. It is too long for quotation, and is full of directions for the encouragement and extension of these shows of the citizens.

"The Council of the City of Worcester appears to have governed by two bodies, called respectively 'the Twenty-four,' and 'the Forty-eight,' and they are directed by these Ordinances to be ready to attend the Council House 'as often as they shall here the greto bell of the Parische of Seint Andrewe to be knoltd by many ad divers tymes, and after that rongen out for the same.' The same Ordinance directs—'Also the Bow-bell accustomed in the seid Cite to be rongen at ix. of the bell, to be contynewed yerly for grete ease of the said Cite; the parysh clerk ther to have his fees accustomed therefore.' I am enabled to say that there are payments annually 'for ringing Day-bell and Bow-bell' in the Corporation accounts from a very early date. It appears to have been an almost immemorial custom. The 'Day-bell' is said to have been the fourth bell at St. Helen's Church, and to have been rung for a quarter of an hour every morning at four o'clock. The ringing of the 'Day-bell' ceased about 1750. The 'Bow-bell' is doubtless the same as the Curfew, and at the present time it is rung at eight o'clock instead of nine, as at the time of the Ordinances. There seems to be no local explanation of the name 'Bow-bell,' but Mr. Woof suggests a very probable one, viz. that as the Curfew-bell of London was rung at Bow Church, the name of that church may have been adopted in other places, and applied to the bell. In the 'Liber Albus' edited by Mr. Riley for the series of Chronicles and Memorials published under direction of the Master of the Rolls, we find, amongst the Ordinances of the City of London, 'Qe nul voise wakeraunt

apres Curfeu soné at Bowe ;' also that no 'Braceour' should keep 'huis overt apres Curfeu soné at Bowe.'

"Ordinance 29 is directed against persons using 'eny wyndowes, dorres, or holes of new made in to the yeld hall, wher thorough eny persons may ae, here, or have knowleth what ys done in the seid halle.'

"I will now conclude my remarks, as the remainder relates entirely to regulations for the trade and other affairs of the city, interesting only in a local sense. At the end of the second set of 'Ordinances,' is an account of fees, followed by transcripts of charters to the city. The first of these charters is by Edgar, dated Dec. 28, A.D. 964. It is preceded by a brief narrative respecting the foundation of the City by Welfarius, King of the Mercians, A.D. 679, and by reference to a charter of King Offa granting the Hundred of Oswaldslowe to the Bishop of Worcester and his family, as the secular clerks were called. The confirmation of this grant is the subject of the charter of Edgar, together with the reform of the Cathedral establishment which had been made at the instigation of Bishop Oswald. Upon the date of this transaction some question exists, and doubt has also been thrown upon this charter of Edgar by Green the local historian, who says that he is supported by Burnet. It is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Caley's ed.) from the Charter Roll 9 Edward III., which records a confirmation by that sovereign of a previous confirmation by Edward II. of Edgar's charter. Dugdale's second reference to the Charter Roll 4 Edward IV., is not correct, but as the *Inspeximus* by Edward III. gives a complete recital of the charter, I have not attempted to trace his second reference. Edgar's charter is also printed in Spelman's '*Concilia*,' and Kemble's '*Codex Diplomaticus*,' but apparently from some other copy, as a page of that in the MS. sent by Mr. Woof is omitted. It does not appear that the *Inspeximus* of Edward III. or the copy in the Book of Ordinances was known to Green. There are many verbal variations between the copy in the Book of Ordinances and that on the Charter Roll, and it is evident that the transcriber of the former was not master of the MS. from which he copied, or that it was very corrupt. The other charters are those of Henry II., of which I believe that the original no longer exists, of Richard I., and of Henry III."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. GREGORY RUDDES.—A fragment of a remarkably fine intaglio, on sard, of the best Greek period, found near Kertch in the Crimea. The subject may be the head of the Tauric Artemis, or possibly of Iphigenia, her priestess.

By the Rev. R. P. COATES.—Bronze celt of unusual type, found at Wrotham, Kent.

By Mr. WILLIAM OWEN, of Haverfordwest.—Two twisted rings of iron, diameter about 7 inches ; on the surface there seem to be slight traces of mixed yellow metal ; also an iron object, decayed with rust, formed with five projections, and bearing resemblance to a human hand about half life size. They were found at "the Rath," in the parish of Rodbaxton, near Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, sometimes called "St. Leonard's Rath," an encampment on the summit of a conical hill, about four miles N.E. of that town. It is a circular work with a single fosse, the rampart so high that from the area within no view can be gained of any part of the sur-

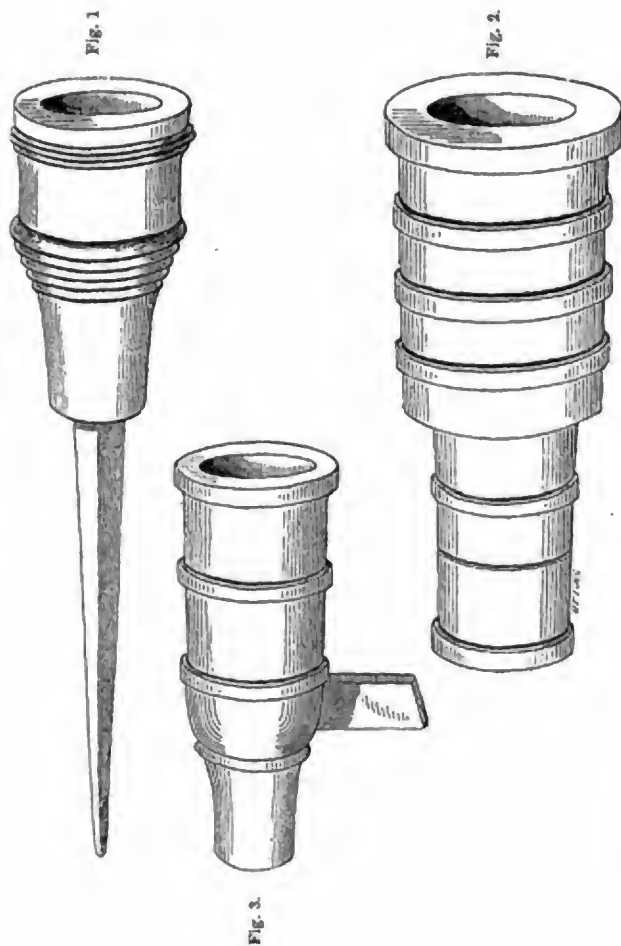
rounding country. A plan and section is given in Mr. Llewellyn's Memoir on the Rath of Pembrokeshire, *Archæologia Camb.*, third series, vol. x. p. 12. It is said that it was occupied in the Civil Wars, and that portions of armour had been disinterred near it. A chapel adjacent to this entrenched work was called "*Capella S. Leonardi de Castro Symonis*," formerly connected with the Commandery of Slebeck, and near a copious spring of water; there is another remarkable spring on the N.E. side near the vallum. The date and purpose of the iron rings, which have been presented by Mr. Owen through the Institute to the British Museum, are doubtful; it had been supposed that they might have been the cores or frames of certain bronze collars, such possibly as the beaded torques noticed by Mr. Birch in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 32, and mostly formed with stout iron rings on which the bronze ornaments were strung. Iron collars have occasionally occurred, supposed to be the badges of slavery, and it is believed that such a mark of servitude was not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon times. Around the neck of a skeleton found about 1841 at Dorchester, Oxfordshire, with Roman pottery, there was an iron collar fastening with a catch or spring. *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1841, p. 303.

By Sir GEORGE BOWYER, Bart., M.P., through Mr. Bernhard Smith.—Roman relics, pottery, calcined bones and remains, with the dorsal *scutum* of the broad-nosed sturgeon, found at Barton Farm, about a mile from Abingdon, on the Oxford side. The ruins of Barton House, destroyed by the Parliamentarians in the Rebellion, stand on this farm, on the property of Sir G. Bowyer. The exhibition of these vestiges of Roman occupation was accompanied by a few notes from Dr. Rolleston, Linacre Professor of Physiology at Oxford. The species of sturgeon above mentioned is taken occasionally in the Solway Firth, but less commonly than the sharp-nosed fish, *Accipenser sturio*, abundant in Northern parts of Europe. Possibly the sturgeon may, in Roman times, have been taken frequently in the Isis; it may, however, have been brought from the tidal rivers of remote parts of Britain, "*peregrinis . . nobilis undis*," as it is designated by Ovid. It is well known how highly the fish sometimes called *helops* was esteemed by the Romans; the "*pretiosus helops nostris incognitus undis*" is commended in the verses of the poet before mentioned. It may deserve notice that Anthony à Wood records in his Journal, in 1677,⁵ the capture of a sturgeon of 8 ft. long at Clifton Ferry, about 3 miles lower down the river than the spot where the Roman remains brought by Mr. Bernhard Smith were brought to light.

By Mr. J. E. LEE, F.S.A.—Drawing showing the construction of part of the Roman wall of Clermont-Ferrand, in France (*Augustonemetum*), at a spot called the *Blanchisserie*. It is formed with half-round pilasters at intervals of about 9 feet; each pilaster, or small demi-rounder, measuring nearly 3 ft. in diameter. The height of the wall is about 22 ft., constructed with four rows of bonding tiles, each consisting of three rows of tiles.—Drawings of flint arrow-heads in great variety of form, and of knives or implements of flint, stone celts, &c., from *Gergovia*, the district of the *Arverni*, in the volcanic range near Clermont; their chief city was in vain besieged by Cæsar; a very large collection of these relics is to be seen in the Museum at Clermont.—Also drawings of perforated objects of bone, there

⁵ *Athenæ Oxon.*, Life of Anth. à the Eccles. Hist. Soc., p. 196.
Wood, edited by the late Dr. Bliss for

EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT ARTILLERY.



Hooped Iron Gun, in the Museum at Clermont. From Drawings by John Edward Lee, Esq., F.S.A.
 Fig. 1.—Length, 31 inches. Fig. 2.—Length, 16 inches. Fig. 3.—Length, 22 inches.

also found, supposed to have been whistles or portions of flutes. They have occurred frequently with Roman remains. See Mr. Roach Smith's *Roman London*, pl. 34.—Diagram showing a portion of construction found at Caerleon; piers formed of square tiles, and supporting overlapping courses, so as to form openings at intervals in lieu of arches; similar examples of masonry have occurred at other Roman sites; compare *Artis' Durobrivæ*, pl. 26, fig. 2.—Drawings of three small pieces of ancient iron artillery in the Museum at Clermont; it is not known where they were found. They are figured on the previous page. The longest, with a sharp spike, probably to affix it to a wooden stock, measures 31 inches in length; diameter about 8 inches. We are indebted to General Lefroy for the following remarks.—“The little guns from Clermont are very curious; the nearest approach that I can find to such a form is supplied by the pieces of the first half of the fifteenth century, given by Col. Favé in vol. iii. of the ‘*Études sur le passé et l’avenir de l’Artillerie*,’ by the Emperor of the French, pl. 7; these are copied from a MS. ‘*de Machinis*’ at Venice, and originally, I believe, given by Valturius. From their large calibre the guns at Clermont must have been used with stone shot; and, from their large powder-chamber, combined with their excessive lightness in proportion to calibre, they must date from the earliest period, when gunpowder was made of equal proportions of the three ingredients, and excessively weak. We have nothing so old, unless it be the pieces fished up in Morecambe Bay, Lancashire, by Mr. Archibald (*Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 373), which may be of the fourteenth century.”

By Mr. JOSEPH BELDAM, F.S.A.—An iron object of the Roman period, a specimen of a curious class of relics which have sometimes been regarded as lamp-holders of homely description—*lychnuchi pensiles*—but probably are shoes occasionally used for horses or oxen that had suffered injury in the hoof. They have been designated *hipposandales*, and have been found in various parts of England, France, and Germany, mostly near Roman remains. See Mr. Roach Smith's *Coll. Ant.*, vol. iii. p. 128, and the Catalogue of his Antiquities now in the British Museum, p. 78; a remarkable specimen found at Blackwater Bridge is figured, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 108; compare those found near Mayence, *Lindenschmit, Alterth. uns. heidn. Vorzeit*, Heft xii. Taf. 5; and several figured by the Abbé Cochet, *La Seine Inférieure*, p. 337. The example in Mr. Beldam's possession was found several years ago near Balduck, Herts, in the vicinity of the Icknield Way; it measures about 8 inches in length, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches greatest breadth, and is encrusted with fragments of flint. An iron shoe, very similar in fashion and size, is figured in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xi. p. 416. It was found in London, and was sent for the inspection of the Institute by the late Mr. C. Ainslie. Another iron relic similar in form to that exhibited was found in Hertfordshire in the same neighbourhood in a pit, at a depth of 15 feet, near the Arbury Banks and a covered way which led to a copious spring. A drawing of this specimen, now in the possession of a chemist at Royston, has been sent by Mr. Beldam, with a representation of an iron axe of unusual fashion, stated to have been found near the same spot. Mr. Beldam brought also a stirrup of iron cased with bronze, found not far from the Icknield Way near Royston, but not, as he believes, with the relic last described. He is inclined to attribute it to the later part of the fourteenth century, or about 1350—1450. It is of a peculiar triangular form, with straight sides ornamented with bosses

at intervals; the bosses are engraved with diagonal lines, and there are remains of some other ornamentation rather elaborately worked. Tournaments were often held near Royston, and Mr. Beldam suggested the possibility that this object, of unusual character, may have been lost on the Hertfordshire Downs on some occasion of such popular disports in the times of Edward III. or Richard II.

By Mr. C. BOWYER.—A marble statuette of Narcissus stated to have been found at Herculaneum.—Four camei, one of them, on shell, representing the Judgment of Paris. These objects are from the collection of the late Mr. Brett; a notice of the statuette has been given in the *Fine Arts' Journal*.

By the Rev. H. M. SOARTH.—Drawings, by Mrs. C. S. Beckett, of the torso of a monumental effigy of a lady, and of a capital of Norman character, found in the church of Bradford-on-Avon during recent restorations of the chancel. Both relics are decorated with bright coloring. The costume of the lady, which seems to be late fourteenth century, is curious; her hands are joined and raised on her bosom; the gown, cut out at the arm-holes, is red, the sleeves of the under-dress blue; the head-dress is flat on the crown of the head, and the hair confined in a laced fret or *crispine*; the gorget is brought up over the chin and frilled at the margin, the face appearing in a triangular opening, through which the side hair may be seen tied up cushion-wise; the coverchief falls loosely on either side of the face. This effigy is supposed by Mr. Pettigrew to be the memorial of Agnes, relict of Reginald de Aula, a benefactor to Bradford, in the xiii. cent. The discoveries there made will be published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

By Mr. J. FETHERSTON.—Photographs of Maxtoke Castle, Warwickshire, the picturesque structure now the property of Mr. Featherston-Dilke, by whom the members were hospitably entertained during the Annual Meeting held at Warwick, and of which a short notice was given in this *Journal*, vol. xxi. p. 385.

By Mr. BEDFORD.—Photographs of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, and of the sepulchral monuments there preserved.

By Mr. BURTT.—Photographs of the Gothic crowns found at Guarrazar, and now in the Musée des Thermes at Paris. These sumptuous ornaments have been described by Mr. Albert Way in this *Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 253. The beautiful photographic representations were lately placed in Mr. Burtt's hands at Paris by the Director of the Museum, M. du Sommerard, to be submitted to the Institute, of which he is an Hon. Member.

By Mr. FARRER, F.S.A.—A gold ring-brooch set with eight uncut rubies and sapphires alternately, in collets, which project considerably above the face of the ornament; the transverse acus is likewise set with a sapphire. The intervals between the jeweled collets are engraved with quatrefoils and letters, apparently portions of the posy which is engraved in full on the flat reverse of the ring—IO SVI IOI EN LIV DAMI:AMO.—A pendant medallion, enriched on each side with a round nielloed plate, diam. 1½ inch, mounted in a rim of silver gilt filagree; the subject of one of the niellos is the B. Virgin, seated and giving suck to the infant Saviour; on a scroll around the margin is inscribed—DVLCHSIMO LACTE EDVCANI 72.—underneath is the initial V. On the other side is the Precursor, with the following inscription on a scroll—NYMQVAM OBLIVISCAR TV'IS, and under the feet of the Baptist is seen the initial B.—Circular ivory medallion in

low relief, partly colored and gilded; diam. 1½ inch.; the subject is the Death of the B. Virgin; angels support her pillow, the Apostles surround her death-bed. Date, fifteenth century.—A curious enameled plaque representing Our Lord seated on the rainbow, his feet upon an orb, the wounded side, hands, and feet are shown in a striking manner; from his mouth proceeds in one direction a branch, and in the other a sword, its point being towards the lips of the Saviour; below are kneeling figures, the B. Virgin and St. John; in the background numerous figures arise from their graves; on the right of Our Lord is a stately structure at the entrance gate of which St. Peter receives the Blessed; on the left the demon carries off the accursed. Date, late fifteenth century.—A leaf of an enameled devotional folding tablet representing St. James the Greater, a shell is in the front of his pilgrim's hat, in his hand he holds a staff with a scrip appended to it; the coloring is brilliant. The margins of the garments are set with sparkling imitative jewels *à paillettes*. It is attributed to Monvaerni; date about 1450; possibly after Martin Schoen.—A small enameled pax representing the Resurrection, and a second painted with an enthroned figure of the B. Virgin and infant Saviour; the date 1557 appears on a small cartouche on the left. This highly finished little work is attributed to Penicault.—A little MS. Book of Hours, with miniatures and borders elaborately painted with birds, flowers, and insects on a gold ground. Flemish art, late fifteenth century.—A scent-bottle of crystal, encased in an elaborately enriched frame of chased work enameled with rich translucent colors, a little group of Venus with Cupids, also flowers, dragon-flies, &c. It was obtained in Sweden, but is of Italian work.

By Dr. WYNN WILLIAMS.—A bronze mortar, supposed to be of Flemish workmanship, and bearing an inscription of religious character with the date 1598. It was described as from Caernarvon Castle.

March 3, 1865.

The MARQUIS CAMDEN, K.G., President, in the Chair.

The noble Marquis, before entering upon the ordinary proceedings of the Meeting, alluded with deep regret to the great loss which the Institute had sustained in the death of the Duke of Northumberland. That sudden and painful bereavement had fallen very heavily upon those most dear to that lamented nobleman, and their sorrow claimed the sincere sympathy of all who had enjoyed the privilege of intercourse or friendship with him; his life had been marked by noble beneficence, by the most warm and generous encouragement of every scientific purpose or intelligent enterprise. The Duke had long fostered archæological science with princely liberality, and the Institute could never forget how greatly the knowledge of History and Antiquities had been promoted in this country through his powerful impulse.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said that he could not refrain from bearing his tribute of sorrow and of veneration for the memory of the generous friend and patron whose death they had to deplore. He adverted to the important works carried out by the lamented Duke for the elucidation of the great monuments of antiquity in the northern counties; he was ever ready to promote intelligent investigation, and by personal participation to stimulate every purpose for extension of knowledge or for the welfare of his country. Lord Talbot spoke of the warm interest with which the Duke had taken part in the Annual Meeting of the Institute held at Newcastle

in 1852; he mentioned the excavations of the station of *Bremenium*, and other works specially undertaken by his Grace's direction, in order to stimulate the interest of the Society in the remarkable Roman vestiges of the north. Many now around him (Lord Talbot observed) would with himself recall the gratification conferred by the courtesy and welcome with which the Institute had been received at Alwrick Castle.

The Rev. CANON ROCK and the Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE heartily concurred in the feeling expressed by the noble President and Lord Talbot; and, on the suggestion of Mr. Hartshorne, seconded by Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, M.P., it was unanimously agreed that the Central Committee should be requested to convey to the Duchess on behalf of the Society an address of heartfelt condolence on her recent painful bereavement.

General LEROY, R.A., read the following observations on the chambered tumulus at New Grange, county Meath, and that more recently opened at Dowth in the same parts of Ireland, and brought for examination a series of rubbings of incised markings which occur on the massive slabs of which the chambers are formed.

"The New Grange Tumulus has been opened for 165 years, and, although religiously avoided by the native population of the neighbourhood, as sharing in an eminent degree the sacredness which they attribute to all the fairy mounts, it has been too often visited and described by antiquaries to offer the hope of any fresh discovery to the explorer. Inquiries in archæology however sometimes, like physical decay, 'let in new light, through chinks that time has made,' and so it has happened that the mysterious circular markings which the researches of Dr. Collingwood Bruce have recently rendered familiar to us, as occurring on the rocks of Northumberland, in Argyleshire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, have suggested a speculation whether the well-known serpentine incisions of the chamber at New Grange (in which the ingenious Governor Pownall discovered Phœnician characters) might not really be referable to the same epoch and the same design as these incised markings. I think that a glance at their designs and the comparison with any of Dr. Bruce's reproductions of the markings occurring near the Cheviots will dispel this idea. The New Grange Tumulus, it is scarcely necessary to state, is in the county Meath, on the north side of the Boyne near Drogheda; it measures about 280 ft. in diameter, and 40 or 50 ft. high. It has been surrounded by a circle of unbewn monoliths, of which eleven are either standing or prostrate *in situ*; they seem to have been originally about 9 yards apart, so that it must have required at least thirty to surround the mound. I am not aware that any steps have been taken to ascertain the real dimensions of the stones still standing, but the largest stands more than 8 ft. out of the ground, and is about 17. ft. in circumference; supposing that 3 ft. of the base are below the surface, it may weigh 6 or 7 tons; a weight which argues considerable mechanical power on the part of the people who transported and erected the stone. All that is known of the discovery of the chamber in this mound, which occurred in 1699, will be found in the paper by Edward Lhwyd, the learned Welsh antiquary, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. v.¹ He makes no mention of the two human skeletons

¹ Edward Lhwyd's first account of his visit to New Grange, as related in a letter to Rowlands, dated Sligo, March,

1699-1700, will be read with interest. It is given in Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua*, p. 314, second edition.

said by subsequent writers to have been discovered lying in the centre, or of the pillar stone standing there, or of gold coins, one of Valentinian and one of Theodosius, found under that pillar; he does state, however, that a gold coin of Valentinian was found near the top of the mound, and that in the cave 'they found several bones, and part of a stag's (or else elk's) head, and some other things which I omit, because the laborers differed in their account of them.' Irish antiquaries of the present day assign from the fourth to the sixth century before the Christian era as the period of the erection of this monument.

"I visited New Grange in January, 1862, and upon that occasion took careful internal measurements, and such sketches as the darkness of the interior and other difficulties permitted. In September, 1864, however, some friends staying in the neighbourhood devoted themselves for two or three days to the exploration, and at the cost of personal sacrifices, especially on the part of the ladies, which will be appreciated by any one who has struggled through the narrow entrance, they produced the rubbings now brought for examination. A wash of Indian ink has been laid over the raised parts to make the outline more distinct.

"The chamber in the Tumulus of Dowth was first entered in 1847. Like that of New Grange, it is cruciform, but with one arm of the cross much longer than the other. The entrance passage is 28 ft. long, and conducts to a chamber about 7 ft. in diameter, the centre of which is occupied by a large hollow stone, which according to the prevailing notion is called a sacrificial basin. To the left is a recess, a little over 6 ft. in depth; in front is a similar recess also 6 ft. in depth, but to the right runs off a passage 16 ft. long, which divides at the end into two branches, one of them terminates at 5 ft., the other runs 8 ft., when it is stopped by a stone across it, but beyond this stone is a place of concealment, extending 5 ft. further. I derive these details from measurements made by Captain Stubbs, not having myself visited this cave. The carvings are of the same character as those at New Grange, but they exhibit some peculiarities."

We regret to be unable to place before the readers of the Journal the curious incised markings of which facsimiles were brought by General Lefroy. The most remarkable of these designs may be seen in Wakeman's *Archæologia Hibernica*, p. 25 to 29, and in Sir W. R. Wilde's *Beauties of the Boyne*, p. 192.² They consist of spirals, zigzag and lozenge patterns, concentric curves, also one very peculiar device resembling a palm branch or frond of the fern. These markings occur on the stones that form the roof of the passage leading to the central chamber, and it is remarkable that they not only cover portions of exposed surfaces, but extend over those parts which undoubtedly were concealed from view when the structure was originally raised, and where a tool could not have reached them. It

² An abstract of a lecture read lately by the Rev. H. Estridge at a meeting of the Oxford Archæol. Soc., may be found in *Gent. Mag.* June, 1865, p. 735. A plan of the subterranean structure is given, with some of the spiral decorations, very inaccurately, the peculiar rule of ornamentation being as little heeded as conformity in detail. New Grange was first described by Lhwyd, in 1696, in a

letter published by Rowlands in the *Mona Antiqua*, in 1723; the next account was by Sir Thomas Molyneux, *Discourse concerning Danish Mounds, &c.*, in Ireland, 1726. See also *Philos. Trans.*, vol. v. p. 694; Governor Pownall's *Memoir*, in 1770, *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 236; a notice by Dr. Petrie, *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. p. 305; Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Tour in Ireland*, &c.

may be inferred that the tooling was worked previously, and the slabs may have been used for some prior purpose. Sir W. Wilde remarks that the "scribings" seem to have been worked with a tool like the pick used in roughing mill-stones. It may be noticed that they differ from the numerous markings in Northumberland, each spiral being mostly formed of a double coil commencing with a central loop, and usually having seven turns; the concentric figures are rare, and the line radiating from a central cup does not occur in any instance. There are other remarkable variations which will be found noticed in the works above cited, and occasionally the work is in low relief. A few of the markings in the Dowth chamber are figured in Sir W. Wilde's work, p. 207.

Mr. W. W. E. WYNN, M.P., remarked that incised work of similar character exists on a cromlech known as Arthur's Stone, between Barmouth and Harlech. Mr. James Yates made mention of circular markings on an erect stone near Liverpool.

A Discourse by Mr. T. G. FAUSSETT, F.S.A., was read, On the present state of the Law of Treasure Trove. Printed in this volume, p. 15, *ante*.

Lord TALBOT stated that in Ireland the concessions made, as in Scotland, by the Treasury had been attended with satisfactory results, and the agency of the police had not been attended with any hindrance to the rescue of treasure trove. A great number of precious relics had been preserved for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Lord Talbot thought that in one respect the practice in regard to treasure trove might be modified with advantage if its application were extended, as it had formerly been in Scotland, to all ancient relics, instead of being limited to objects of gold or silver.

Mr. JOHN EVANS, F.S.A., after complimenting Mr. Faussett on the research shown in his discourse, expressed himself as being of a totally different opinion with regard to many points brought forward. In the first place, he did not at all agree in regarding a single coin of gold or silver as constituting treasure, inasmuch as the very word "thesaurus" implied an accumulation of objects, and, moreover, in such cases the maxim *De minimis non curat lex* would apply. In the next place, he pointed out the mischief that would inevitably ensue if, in such cases, for instance, as the discovery of Saxon graves, the objects in gold and silver were to be claimed by the Crown and separated from those in other metals or materials. Without undervaluing national or local museums, he maintained that no thorough knowledge of antiquities, and more especially of coins, could be attained without that intimate acquaintance with ancient relics acquired by collecting them; and he regarded any measure aimed at private collectors as one calculated to do infinite mischief to the cause of archaeological science. He was, indeed, surprised that the secretary of a local society, which depended on archaeological taste being kept alive in the country, should think that the prevention of private study and the confining of collections of antiquities to public museums could tend to the promotion of antiquarian knowledge. Still, the object which all antiquaries had in view, whether they were advocates of the law which gave to the Crown treasure trove or no, was the preservation of antiquities. From what he had seen, he was fully convinced that any claim that was raised from any quarter to objects found tended to cause the concealment of the circumstances of the finding, and even to induce the destruction of the objects themselves. He wished to see the same law which applied to objects found

upon the surface, and which vested them, failing any legitimate owner, in the finder, applied to objects found beneath the surface of the soil. The Crown had practically renounced all claims to treasure trove by paying to the finders the value of all objects surrendered; and it appeared that this modified abrogation of the royal claims had been accompanied in parts of the kingdom by beneficial results. What little more was required was the abolition of all claim as of right, so that in those parts of the kingdom, at all events, where treasure belonged to the Crown, there might be no possible inducement for concealment; and this abrogation of claims might be accompanied by a public notice, that certain officials on the part of the Government were ready to purchase any objects of antiquity that might be found. Mr. Evans believed that if this simple plan were adopted it would conduce materially to the preservation of antiquities, and to the acquisition of the knowledge afforded by the circumstances under which they were found. Our national and local museums would be enriched, and private collectors could have no possible cause of complaint. He maintained that there never was a more mistaken notion than to suppose that objects in a private collection were in any way lost to the public. Most of our best archaeological books were written by those who had acquired their knowledge by private collections and research, and the dispersion of such collections was by no means such an unmixed evil as Mr. Faussett supposed. At the sales of collections of the kind the public museums had the opportunity of acquiring any objects of interest that were offered without burdening themselves with duplicates, while these opportunities of adding to their collections kept alive the antiquarian zeal of private collectors. The question, whether a valuable antiquity came a few years sooner or later into a national collection, was one of not the slightest importance as compared with that, whether it was to be preserved or destroyed, and Mr. Evans advocated the abolition of all claims such as that of treasure trove, as being calculated to cause the destruction of antiquities.

In the course of an animated discussion which ensued, in which Mr. Sprengel Greaves, Q.C., Sir Jervoise C. Jervoise, Bart., Mr. James Yates, Mr. Blaauw, and other members took part, the following remarks by Mr. John Stuart, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, were read, in reference to the course of proceeding adopted in North Britain:—

“I am glad to report favorably on the working of our treasure trove arrangements. Since they were commenced in 1859 we have received a great many curious relics in the precious metals, as well as in bronze, and I have not heard of any serious complaint. There can be no doubt that the arrangements require a delicacy in working, which is not always to be found in the official mind. The mode of working our law under the existing concessions is simple. The Crown being represented in each county by the Sheriff and the Procurator Fiscal, and the whole of the rural constabulary having instructions how to act, in any case where the rumor of a find emerges the constable inquires into the circumstances, obtains the relics, and lodges them with the Procurator Fiscal, who transmits them to the office of the Exchequer in Edinburgh. The Society of Antiquaries is then communicated with, and practically fixes the remuneration to the finder, which is at least the bullion value, generally a little beyond. I cannot say whether the old maxim that what belongs to no one is the king's has taken so healthy a root in the national mind, that it appears quite a handsome practice of dealing to give the actual value for any object thus

rendered up ; but so it is that our system works, although I can see that it would not work well if the officials tried to ride 'rough-shod.' I attribute our success to a more general appreciation of historical relics among all classes than formerly prevailed. Of this I have experienced some striking evidence. Our country is not too large to allow of a general interest throughout the whole in one central museum ; we have moreover so ventilated our antiquarian subjects of late, and we take such notice of donations and additions to the collection, that almost every farm servant as well as farmer knows about the museum."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Sir JOHN BOILEAU, Bart.—A bronze tripod caldron found, 1860, in garden ground, in digging foundations in Bishopsgate Street, Norwich, on the property of a person named Howard. It lay four or five feet below the surface. No remarkable relic of antiquity had previously been found at the spot, nor anything indicating traces of occupation in Roman times, to which caldrons of this description have sometimes been assigned. The specimen exhibited is globular, of large dimensions, height $2\frac{3}{4}$ ft., diameter at the mouth 14 in. ; girth at the largest part nearly 4 ft. It has a handle projecting at each side of the rim, forming an acute angle. A caldron of smaller size found in Derbyshire is figured in this Journal, vol. xx. p. 169, where notices of others may be found ; see also the description of one with an inscribed handle found at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire, in this Journal, vol. x. p. 262 ; another, found at Chesterfield, is figured in Journ. Arch. Ass., vol. viii. p. 55 ; and several small specimens found in Lanarkshire are figured in the same Journal, vol. x. pl. 3.

By Sir THOMAS WINNINGTON, Bart., M.P.—A pomander case ; date, seventeenth century.

By Mr. J. J. ROGERS, M.P.—A small silver salver found in Cornwall, on the property of Mr. R. Lake, of Trevannick, near St. Austell. It resembles a sacramental paten ; it has been supposed to have been intended for that purpose as part of a portable service used for administration to the sick. The diameter measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; the disk is raised on a small circular base, so that the height is five-eighths. The central part is slightly dished, and the flat raised rim is ornamented with circles roughly impressed. The hall-marks are the leopard's head crowned, lion passant, and a black letter minuscule O, indicating the year 1691. The foot may have been added ; it seems to have been soldered on clumsily after the hall-marks were impressed on the salver. This piece of plate was given to Mr. Rogers by Mr. Lake, who stated that it had been found in grubbing the stump of an old bay tree near a path on a part of his grounds at Trevannick formerly in possession of Lord Arundel.

By Mr. E. GREAVES, M.P.—Three specimens of mediæval art, a *châsse* of *champlevé* enameled work of Limoges ; date, thirteenth century ; dimensions, 10 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; height, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; it is ornamented with figures in relief representing our Lord, St. Peter, and eight of the Apostles.—Triptych, mostly of German art ; on the wings are bas-reliefs in silver representing Saints ; in the central compartment has been fixed the gable-fashioned end of a shrine of Limoges work, thirteenth century, surrounded by filigree ; this *plaque* represents our Lord upon the cross, with the Blessed Virgin

and St. John.—A *châsse*, in form of a cross-church, ornamented with figures in low relief and quatrefoiled diapering. Date, fifteenth century.

By Mr. SCHARP, F.S.A.—Italian banner, painted on both sides with a representation of the youthful Tobias bearing a large fish, and guided by the Archangel Raphael, who holds a box for ointments, or a chrismatory formed in several compartments. The details are not exactly the same on the two sides. Although the painting on this banner, intended for processional purposes, is coarse, yet it belongs to an early Italian period, and it exhibits peculiarities of the Siennese school. It probably belonged to some guild or fraternity of medicine, as is suggested by its evident connection with the healing art. The young Tobias was held in special veneration at Pavia. Representations of the Archangel Raphael are rare.

By the Rev. T. CARTERET MAULE, Rector of Cheam, Surrey, through Mr. Warwick King.—Pewter chalice and paten lately found under the floor of the tower at the church of Cheam. Also fragments of cloth of gold, probably the orfray of a vestment, and a buckle much corroded. These relics lay with the skeleton, possibly of one of the rectors of Cheam as early as the thirteenth century, in a stone coffin, at a depth of only 7 inches at the head. The chalice was at the left side of the skull, apparently occupying the position in which it had originally been placed. The tower has lately been taken down; it was a relic of an early fabric; the nave and parts of the chancel seemed of rather later date. The church, according to an inscription on a pane of glass in Croydon Palace noticed by Lysons, was burnt by lightning in 1639, and the present walls were rebuilt in brick in 1746. The discovery of a chalice with the interment of a priest of a rural village is comparatively rare, although noticed in tombs of dignified ecclesiastics. An instance of such a deposit, however, occurred in Surrey in the graveyard of Charlwood Church, as related in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 276, where remarks on the subject may be found. Mr. Warwick King brought also from Cheam, by Mr. Maule's kind permission, a funereal helmet; date, about the time of James I.; it may have been part of the achievement over the stately memorial of John Lord Lumley, who died in 1609. He was possessor of the remarkable hunting-lodge called Nonsuch, the favorite resort of Queen Elizabeth, near Cheam. His tomb on the north side of the chancel is described by Manning, *Hist. Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 474, and it has been figured by Sandford, *Geneal. Hist.*, p. 423. A portrait of Lord Lumley is there shown, also noticed by Aubrey in his *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 112; it was of circular form, described as finely painted on a tablet of wood hanging against the east wall of the chancel near the monument. Mr. Maule informs us that there is not even a tradition of such a portraiture.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH—German hunting-knife, the gripe of deer's horn; the mounting of the hilt and scabbard of steel engraved; the latter contains a case for three small instruments; the date, 1624, in open work, may be noticed on the steel mouthpiece. The blade is heavy, being apparently intended for chopping, and it is stamped with mill-rinds as forgeworks.

By the Rev. DANIEL GILLET.—Portions of a glass vessel, with the surface curiously iridescent, through decomposition by the action of moisture. It was found in taking down the church at Geldestone, Norfolk.

By Mr. STUART KNILL.—Ivory casket for relics, from the church of St.

Mathias at Treves. The lid is ridged, like a high-pitched roof; the mountings and clamps of gilt metal were lately restored by Messrs. Hardman:

The desire had been strongly expressed that the members of the Institute might be permitted to inspect the entire series of drawings of examples of ancient painted glass in England, by their lamented friend Mr. Winston, previously to their being deposited, in accordance with his last wish, in the British Museum. The opportunity of examining so instructive a collection could not fail to be warmly appreciated by all persons interested in the special branch of mediæval art which he had so successfully labored to illustrate. It was announced that Mrs. Winston, his relict, most kindly acceded to the wish; arrangements had been satisfactorily made by the Central Committee of the Institute; the exhibition would be open to the members from March 27th to April 8th, at the rooms of the Arundel Society, through the courteous permission of their Council. Mr. Gambier Parry had favored the Institute by the promise to give a discourse on the Art and the Artists of Glass Painting, with especial reference to the examples so effectively brought together in Mr. Winston's drawings.

The exhibition took place accordingly; the arrangement of the large collection of drawings, 772 in number, being carried out under the obliging care and direction of Mr. Oldfield, Mr. C. Tucker, and Professor Delamotte. A catalogue was kindly supplied, with some introductory remarks, by Mr. J. B. Waring.

On March 31st Mr. Gambier Parry delivered his promised discourse to a numerous audience in the rooms of the Arundel Society. In accordance with previous arrangement with the Ecclesiological Society it has been published in their Transactions.¹ A well merited tribute was paid to the memory of Mr. Winston, whose name, Mr. Parry remarked, must ever stand at the head of those who, in their various ways, have revived the Art of Glass-painting. "In this country we owe to Mr. Winston's devotion to his art a debt of great gratitude. He has accumulated a great store of precedents, and has written with excellent judgment upon them. It is for us to hope that others will take up this great art where he has been so grievously lost to it. It is to be hoped that a more enlightened public interest may be drawn towards it; that its individuality as an independent branch of art will be more clearly appreciated, and its genius given its proper scope. There need then be no fear for it. As an Art it will then stand firm on the sure ground of its own merits."

¹ Ecclesiologist, vol. xxvi. N. S. p. 143, No. 168, June, 1865; to be obtained from Mr. Masters, 83, Aldersgate-street; or Messrs. Parker, Oxford and London;

price, 1s. 6d. Mr. Waring's Catalogue of Mr. Winston's drawings may be obtained at the Office of the Institute.

Archæological Intelligence.

THE Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association will be held at Douglas, Isle of Man, on Aug. 21, and the four following days.

The Congress of the British Archæological Association will take place at Durham, Aug. 21 to 26; His Grace the Duke of Cleveland, K.G., President.

The Hon. Sec. of the Leicestershire Archit. and Archæol. Soc., Mr. Thomas North, announces for immediate publication (price, on best paper, 4to, one guinea, ordinary paper 10s. 6d.) a Chronicle of the Church of St. Martin, Leicester, temp. Hen. VIII., Edw. VI., Mary and Elizabeth, with notices of the Minor Altars and Guilds. Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Crossley and Clarke, Leicester, from whom a detailed abstract of the contents of the proposed volume may be obtained. The work will contain the results of careful investigation of documents, which, although immediately connected with the locality, throw light generally upon church affairs and the ecclesiastical antiquities of the period.

We recommend with pleasure, especially to archæologists who may take part in our annual meeting at Dorchester, the recently published Map of Dorsetshire on a large scale (27 in. by 21 in.), giving the sites of its numerous Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish vestiges; from the personal researches of Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A. This valuable map, which may claim notice as the most elaborate contribution to the ancient geography of any county, is printed in tints, and the sites colored according to their classification. As an accompaniment Mr. Warne has also published a synopsis, in which the best examples of each period are pointed out, and serving as an index to the map, although complete in itself, and highly serviceable to the antiquarian visitor of the numerous early remains in Dorset. The price of the map, mounted on cloth in a case, is 12s. 6d.; or, with the index, 15s. London: D. Sydenham, 104, Edgware Road. The first part of Mr. Warne's important work on the Celtic Tumuli of Dorset is in the press, and nearly ready for issue to the subscribers.

The Rev. Robert Williams has completed his laborious undertaking, the "Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum," a dictionary of the ancient language of Cornwall, in which the words are elucidated by examples from the Cornish words now remaining; the synonyms are also given in the cognate dialects of Welsh, Armoric, Irish, Gaelic, and Manx. The two concluding parts of this work have recently been issued to the subscribers. A few copies remain in the hands of the author, to whom applications may be addressed, Rhydyroesau, Oswestry.

A new edition is announced by Messrs. Parker of the Inquiry into the Styles of Ancient Glass Painting, especially in England, by our lamented friend, Charles Winston. This valuable manual has for some years been out of print; it will now be reproduced with his corrections, and a series of his letters, describing improved methods of manufacturing and coloring glass. The volume of Mr. Winston's Memoirs on the Art of Glass Painting, chiefly contributed by him at the meetings of the Institute, will also forthwith be published by Mr. Murray, with numerous colored plates and other illustrations from Mr. Winston's drawings of ancient examples.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1864.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bankers', December 31, 1863	74	2	3
" in Treasurer's hands	9	11	4
" Petty Cash	11	3	10
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears	644	0	0
Entrance Fees	19	19	0
Life Compositions	21	0	0
Sale of Publications, &c., of the Institute	208	10	7
Waffle Meeting, Next Receipts, including Donations for Local Expenses, &c.	20	9	0
Donations towards Expenses of Removal to Burlington Gardens	17	2	0
Legacy from Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., deceased	10	10	0

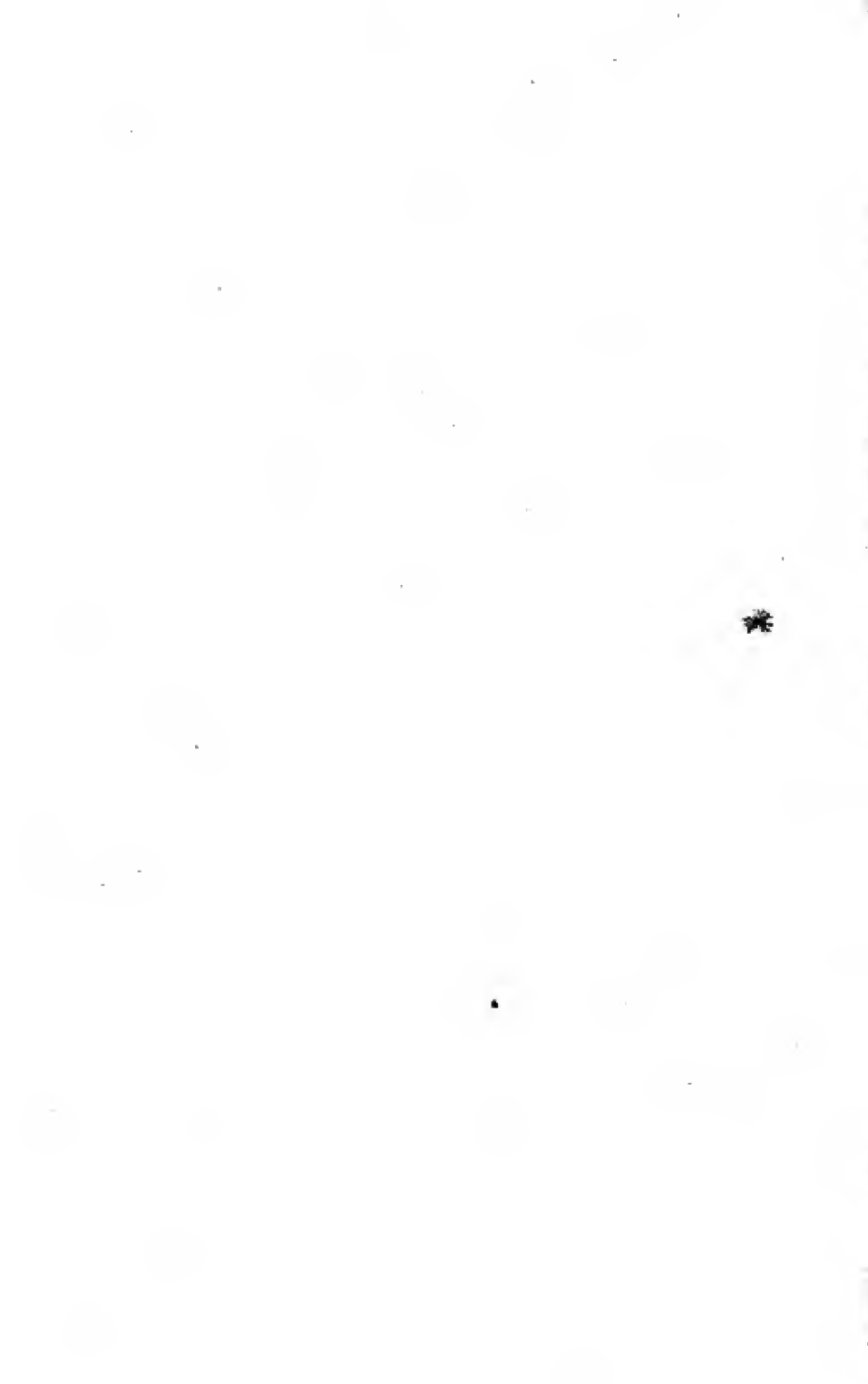
£210 8 2

Submitted to the General Annual Meeting, held in London, on Tuesday, 16th of May, 1865, and unanimously approved.
(Signed) CHAS. S. GREAVES, *Chairman*.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Publication Account:			
Bradbury & Evans (Printing Journal)	400	0	0
Drawing and Engraving	55	0	0
Binding, &c.	2	2	0
House Expenses Account:			
Rent of Apartments (for the Year)	150	0	0
Secretary's Salary	70	0	0
Mr. Johnson, for Printing Circulars	12	3	6
Fire Insurance	3	0	0
Stationery	4	12	0
Hire of the Rooms of the Annual Society	8	8	0
Mr. Nixon, Shelves for Books, &c.	9	6	6
Advertising	2	2	0
Bankers' Stamps	0	4	0
Library Account:			
Mr. Howe for Binding	6	10	0
Purchase of Books, &c.	15	18	0
Petty Cash Account:			
Messengers and Attendance	16	14	9½
Housekeeper's Wages and Disbursements	14	15	6
Delivery of Journal	25	10	10
Postage, Carriage of Parcels, &c.	13	5	0½
Coal and Gas	2	3	4
Advertisements	2	8	0
Expenses, Deputations to Bartlow and Bradwell	9	0	0
Repayment to Mr. Funnell	2	16	0
Balance in Bankers' hands, December 31, 1864	70	13	1
" Treasurer's hands	35	6	3
" Petty Cash	25	19	4
	21	18	9
	£210	8	2

Audited and found correct,
Signed { R. C. KIRBY, } Auditors.
 { WALTER D. JEREMY, }



The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1865.

NOTICES OF THE EXAMINATION OF ANCIENT GRAVE-HILLS IN THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

I. Barrows near Ebberston and the Scamridge Dikes; the Danes' Graves; barrows
near Whitby and Thirsk.

By the Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A.

THE purpose of the present memoir is to give an account of the examination of several grave-hills, which was made during the course of the year 1864, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The district in which they were found, rich in early remains, is that tract of high ground between the Tees and Derwent, bounded by the sea on the east, and by the plain of York and the vale of Mowbray on the west.

It may be thought that so many accounts have been given of the facts connected with primitive interments, that nothing can be added, and that any fresh record is only a repetition of well-known details, which can bring no additional data to the stock of knowledge that we already possess. Such is, however, a mistaken idea. No two interments present quite the same features, and each one that is examined is valuable, either as a confirmation of views not as yet based on a sufficiently exact or wide foundation, or as giving some new fact which may modify, or perhaps destroy, the theory which, in such matters, we are sometimes obliged to erect.

When we enter upon the consideration of a subject such as the history of the tribes which occupied our country previous to the Roman invasion, and travel back into an age upon which the light of history sheds no rays, our course is necessarily tentative. We deal, indeed, with facts which are in themselves absolutely true, for there can be no misreading or corrupt passage, no prejudiced or false account, in the bronze

dagger or the flint arrow-head which we find laid beside the body of its owner, but the inference that we draw may be more false than the figments of a Geoffrey of Monmouth. And therefore the value of accumulated facts cannot be over-rated. We need to heap flint on flint, to add bronze to bronze, in order that the base of our theory may be laid upon the firm substructure of well-sifted and oft-recurring detail; and each additional object that we gather, each new feature that we bring to light, is not only not superfluous, but is necessary, as giving strength to the foundation we have laid, or as adding another stone to the fabric which is being raised upon it.

The district with which I deal abounds with the sepulchral remains of its early occupants. As the eye travels along the ridges which form divisions between the lovely dales, so thickly interspersed amongst the heathy uplands of Cleveland, it catches every here and there the rounded outline of the houses,¹ as the grave-hills are there called, which are the resting-places of the chieftains or other early inhabitants of the district. They form, indeed, a distinctive feature in the landscape, and, from their frequency, give the impression that either the country was then thickly peopled, or the period during which they were raised was a lengthy one. As a rule they crown the heights,² and we can scarcely avoid the thought, that, as the dagger or the arrow was laid by the hunter-warrior's side, or the necklace was hung in death around the neck of her whom it adorned in life, in each case for use or ornament in another world, so the chief was buried where his family or tribe fondly thought that his eye might range over the valley where he had ruled, or the

¹ House, from old Norse *Haugr*, *collis*, *tumulus mortuorum*; the verb being *At hauga, coacervare*: Haldorsen. Old Swedish *Hög*, Danish *Høj*. The Jutland form of the word is *Hog*, which, in pronunciation, approximates closely to the North Yorkshire house. The primary idea is that of elevation, the secondary that of heaping up, so as to make high; and the participle *hegyd*, house-ed, heaped, is continually used in the *Landnamabok*, &c., in the sense of buried or deposited in a grave-mound. A large proportion of the language, and even of the proverbs, of Cleveland, is old Danish. The subject is at present engaging the attention of

the Rev. J. C. Atkinson of Danby, the author of several valuable papers on the grave-hills of Cleveland in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

² Where interments have been found on the low ground, and where cultivation has destroyed all trace of the burrow, if such ever existed, they have almost invariably been placed on a rising piece of ground. So marked is this characteristic, that, on several occasions, when I have been taken into a field to see the site of a grave, I have at once pointed out the spot, though there was nothing except the natural swell in the land to indicate it.

hills where the stag³ and the boar had often, amongst the primeval oaks, fallen a victim to his bow and spear.

The tribes settled in the north-eastern parts of Yorkshire, the sepulchral remains of which this paper illustrates, were undoubtedly of kindred origin and habits with those located further north, as, for instance, in Northumberland. The similarity of the mode of interment, the fabric and ornamentation of the burial urns,⁴ the identity of weapons and implements, as well as the marked character of the crania, prove this beyond questioning. And yet, with so many well-defined points of resemblance, there are also such great differences as suffice to show that, though the same people, they lived in these two localities under quite different systems.

We find in both districts the same mode of constructing the habitations; for, though in the North Riding the foundation of the hut is generally a circular hollow, sunk in the surface of the ground,⁵ yet I have found near Ebberston, in connection with an entrance through the well-known Scamridge Dikes, a number of hut-circles,⁶ constructed in exactly the same manner as those so common in Northumberland. The incised rocks,⁷ first discovered in the same county, and since found spread over a wide area, which takes in Scotland and Dorsetshire, and extends to Ireland, these rocks, marked with the mysterious concentric circles, also occur in this district of Yorkshire. Near Robin Hood's

³ At Toeson, in Northumberland, was found, in a short cist, with the unburnt body of a man, an urn, a javelin-head, and a portion of a large red-deer's horn, a cherished trophy, no doubt, of some successful day's hunting.

⁴ I have used the word *urn* throughout this paper for all the fictile vessels, of whatever shape or kind, discovered with an interment, whether of a burnt or unburnt body. The different types have received different names, as cinerary urn, incense-cup, drinking cup, food-vessel, and vase. I have preferred to retain the general word *urn*, as applied to these sepulchral vessels, none of which were, I believe, domestic, but all specially manufactured for the purposes of burial.

⁵ This is, however, after all, only a different fashion of constructing the same kind of habitation; the hut in the one case being raised upon a circular founda-

tion of stones and earth, in the other over a circular pit, which in many instances is lined with a walling of stones.

⁶ No doubt the habitations of those who guarded the entrance. The hut-circles are here very perfect, having never been ploughed over, and they would well repay a careful examination.

⁷ Perhaps I may here be allowed to assert my claim to having been the first to bring the subject of these most interesting symbols before the public, in a paper I read at the Newcastle Meeting of the Institute in 1852. By a mistake of the late Dr. Johnston, in his *Natural History of the Eastern Borders*, I am set down as having entertained the conjecture that these markings are the plans of camps, and this view I have seen elsewhere attributed to me. I may say, that from the first, I maintained the opinion which I still hold, that they are

Bay, a rock⁸ was found which had several series of circles cut upon it, and in connection with interments at Claughton Moor, near Scarborough, and in a tumulus at Way Hag, near Hackness, the same symbols have been discovered engraved upon slabs, which, apparently, had formed the covers of burial places. But, when we look at the arrangements for defence, we find a difference so strongly marked, that it cannot fail to strike any one who is acquainted with the two districts; a difference which assuredly betokens a political state and government among these tribes widely dissimilar. In Northumberland every hill-end has its place of defence, in some instances⁹ two or three in connection, each one stronger than the other. They are provided with enclosures for cattle, and covered ways for concealed ingress and egress. These fortlets, in many cases not above a mile apart, are so numerous, that in a day's walk some dozen or more may easily be visited. Can we come to any other conclusion than that we have in this the evidence of a number of small tribes living in a constant state of feud and warfare,¹ probably about hunting-grounds and pasturage, each tribe independent to some extent of the others, though possibly all, for certain purposes, joined into a general confederation by some bond of political, and therefore, at that time, of religious union? In Yorkshire, on the contrary, at least in the district under consideration, there is an almost entire absence of the like places of defence. Though a few are found, at wide intervals, such as the camp on Eston Nab, the Cawthorn

religious symbols, and, in my paper read before the Institute, I instanced, in support of this view, their having been found connected with burial, always a sacred rite. I am glad to say, that, under the liberal patronage of the late Duke of Northumberland, all the Northumberland incised stones will be reproduced upon a large scale in lithography, with illustrative specimens from other localities, and also that a valuable paper by Mr. George Tate, F.G.S., of Alnwick, with accurate representations on a smaller scale, has appeared in the last part of the *Transactions of the Berwickshire Field Club*, vol. v. p. 187. This memoir may be obtained separately from Mr. Blair at Alnwick.

⁸ The inscribed portion of this rock, torn, I must say very wrongly, from its original bed, is now in the possession of

Mr. Kendall, of Pickering, a person who has destroyed most of the barrows in his district.

⁹ As at Greaves Ash, near Ingram. The forts and hut-circles there were carefully examined under the superintendence of the Berwickshire Field Club, and a record of this examination is given by Mr. Tate, in the *Transactions of the Club*, vol. iv. p. 293.

¹ It has been held by some that these forts are a series of defensive works against a common enemy, such as the Romans, and that they are, therefore, no proof of a division of interests and rule, such as that would be to which I have adverted. Careful examination, however, distinctly shows that no general plan of defence is comprehended in their arrangement.

Camps, and others, as a rule it may be said that the people lived without any fortified positions. It is true that there are the remains in several places of long lines of mounds and ditches, in some instances, as the Scamridge Dikes, of considerable strength; yet these appear to be rather a provision to prevent the driving off of cattle, or divisions between tribes, than defensive places of refuge against a neighbouring enemy. This singular absence of forts and camps, presenting, as it does, so marked a contrast to what is found in Northumberland, appears, therefore, to furnish an almost conclusive proof of a state of society and government completely different in the two districts. Whereas, in Northumberland we have this evidence to show the presence of many and hostile tribes, in Yorkshire all the evidence seems to point to a union under one head, and, in consequence, to the absence of frequent wars, and therefore of any necessity for numerous places of defence. Another remarkable circumstance in connection with the country we are treating of deserves notice; and the more so, because we shall find that the objects in question are frequent accompaniments of interments. This is the profusion of weapons and implements of flint scattered over the surface. In some localities it is no exaggeration to say that they are found by thousands; arrow-heads, knives, saws, and the so-called "thumb-flints,"² the last the most numerous of all, and presenting many varieties of form. That these flint articles were manufactured upon the spot where they are found is certain, from the abundance of refuse pieces, chippings and flakes, which are, as might be expected, more plentiful than the manufactured implements. It is difficult to account for their being found in such large quantities; the more so, because flint is quite foreign to the district;³ but it is still more difficult to

² The "thumb-flint" must have served for several purposes, as it is, of all implements, by far the most numerous. One use, probably, was to scrape hides, to prepare leather, and to make pins and other articles of bone: it might also serve to fabricate arrow-heads and knives. The commonest type of the "thumb-flint" is the round one (see woodcuts, fig. 16, *infra*); but an oval form is also frequent. A long narrow implement (fig. 9), rather like a finger in shape, which in some cases has one end

sharp, and in all has one end smoothed by continual friction, I am inclined to think was used in dressing hides, the sharp end for removing the loose parts of the skin, the smoothed end for rubbing down the seams when the leather was made up into a garment.

³ On the Wolds on the south of the river Derwent, where flint occurs in the chalk, the native flint is only manufactured into coarse articles, such as sling-stones; a finer grained flint, foreign to the district, and, probably, found in the

ascertain the material which in other districts equally peopled by the same tribes occupied the place of flint⁴ for the fabrication of weapons and tools. Many a weary day might be spent by the most careful searcher, in Northumberland, before he found a single object of flint.

I will now proceed to give an account of each of the barrows in the order in which they were examined.

The first, [A,] situated two and a-half miles north of Ebberston, and about half a mile west of the Scamridge Dikes, was opened on March 22nd and 23rd, 1864. It was a true "long barrow," of a type rare in Yorkshire, and not common in any part of England. It lay nearly east and west, and was 165 feet long, with a breadth of 46 feet at the west and 54 feet at the east end, the average height being about 8 feet. It was formed, with the exceptions hereafter mentioned, of oolite rubble, with some mixture of clay and earth, and a thin layer of soil upon the surface, due probably to the decay of the vegetable growth of centuries. The examination was commenced by making a cut through the barrow at the west end. This, as I anticipated, judging from what had occurred in the long barrows of Gloucestershire and Wilts, brought to light no interment. About 5 feet from the exterior, on the north side, we came upon a regularly built wall of flat limestone flags carefully imbedded in clay. This wall extended in width about 8 feet towards the centre of the barrow, when we again came upon the rubble and clay of which the mound was formed. I cannot state how far east this wall was carried; it may have extended the whole length of the barrow; the cut was 10 feet wide, and the wall stretched through it and beyond it on either side.⁵ A second cut was next made, about 20 feet from the east end, and on the south side, where a slight opening had been made on

shape of rolled pebbles on the coast, being used for arrow-heads, knives, &c.

⁴ Bone, probably, to a great extent occupied in such districts the place of flint, and being perishable has not remained to our day. Flint implements are, however, sparingly found upon the surface in Northumberland; whilst in connection with interments they occur frequently, though not to such an extent as in the North Riding barrows.

⁵ The chambered long barrows, at Stoney Littleton, Somersetshire, and Uley,

Gloucestershire, described in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 315, had a dry wall of horizontal courses of stone, from 2 to 3 feet in height, round them. The barrow at West Kennet, in Wiltshire, seems to have had a similar wall of horizontal courses, with large upright stones at intervals. See a paper by Dr. Thurnam in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. Dry walling, running throughout a great extent of the mound, was found in the long barrows at Rodmarton and Ablington in Gloucestershire.

some previous occasion. This opening, however, did not extend above 15 feet from the outside. Just beyond the limit of this former cutting, and disturbed to some extent by the falling down of rubble at the end of it, we found an interment of an unburnt body. On account of the disturbance to which the body had been subjected, it was not possible to determine whether it had been deposited at full length or doubled up; from the narrow compass, however, within which the bones were found, I think it is scarcely possible that it had been laid at full length. This, I feel satisfied, was a secondary interment, and having no connection with the people who first raised the mound. It was apart from the rest of the bodies, and at some distance from the centre of the barrow, where the principal deposit of bones was found. The skull from this interment, of a very different type from all the others discovered in the barrow, is No. I. of those of which a minute account is to be found in the Table given hereafter.

On coming near the centre, a difference in the material was observed; the mixed rubble, clay and earth closely compacted—so close in fact, that to work it was almost like quarrying stone—gave place to loose oolite rubble. This ultimately proved to be a trench⁶ $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, running east and west from the east end of the barrow towards the middle for about forty feet. This trench was 3 feet deep, and had above it 2 feet of earth and small stones, the bottom resting upon a thick stratum of forced clay, which again was laid upon the natural surface of the ground. In the trench were found the original interments; the mode of burial and the state of the bodies were very remarkable. Amongst the loose rubble were placed the remains of about fourteen bodies, not laid in any order, but the broken bones scattered and lying in the most confused manner—half a jaw, for instance, resting upon part of a thigh-bone, and a fragment of a skull amongst the bones of a foot, whilst other portions of the same skull were found some feet apart. Nor was this disarrangement due to any subsequent disturbance of the barrow; on the contrary, there were most certain indications that the bones had been so deposited originally.

⁶ I use the word *trench* for convenience. I cannot say whether this was a trench proper, cut into the barrow, or

was a space left open when the mound was raised; I think the first most likely.

From the broken and dislocated state in which they were found—no two in their relative positions—there can be little doubt that before they were entombed the flesh must have been removed; and this fact, together with the evidence of violent fracture of at least two of the skulls, at or before death, suggests a theory which will presently be considered. The opening was cut into the trench about mid-way; and as it was explored towards the east we came upon signs of burning, at first slight, but gradually becoming more evident, in burnt earth, stones, and bones, together with charcoal, until, at the east end, the oolitic limestone became lime, and all traces of bone had disappeared. As we explored it towards the west, the deposit of bones became gradually more sparing, until, before reaching the extremity of the trench, all remains of bone had ceased. Immediately beyond the western extremity of the trench, we came upon a regularly constructed cairn of stones, carefully laid in order from a centre; here our hopes rose high, in anticipation of finding beneath it the remains of the person in whose honor so large a mound had been raised; nothing, however, was seen when the pile was removed but the layer of forced clay before mentioned; nor, indeed, was there the slightest appearance of a body having rested below the cairn, which, being enclosed within the larger mound, must necessarily have been constructed before it. No trace of metal, no fragment of pottery or of flint, was found in this barrow. The complete calcining of the stones at the east end of the trench, and the gradual disappearance of burning as the trench was examined towards the west, seems to show that the fire had been applied at the east end, and after the trench had been filled in with the oolite rubble, among which the unburnt bones had been deposited. This singular mode of interment has no parallel, so far as my experience serves, except in a similarly-shaped barrow upon the wolds six miles south-east of Ebberston. About two years ago, the east end of that barrow was removed for the purpose of burning the stone for lime, when a trench similar to that in the Scamridge grave-hill was found, running, likewise, east and west. The east end of this trench was filled with perfectly calcined limestone, whilst, farther west, no trace of burning appeared. Amongst the rubble which filled the trench was found, with

other broken bones, a perfect skull. Unfortunately, this was not preserved; and it cannot, therefore, be compared with those from the Scamridge barrow.

The remarkable nature of grave-mounds of this class, the "long barrow," and of the skulls which they have been found to contain, calls for some remarks. They are nearly always placed, approximately, east and west, and have the interments at the east end.⁷ They occur more abundantly in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire than in any other part of England. In districts where stone is found of a kind suitable for such a purpose, they contain a long chamber,⁸ at the east end, formed of large slabs, and in some cases having offsets. Where stone is wanting, the interments are found deposited upon or nearly upon the natural surface⁹, also at the east end, but the long barrows of the south-west of England do not appear to have had any trench similar to that in the Scamridge mound. They all, chambered or not, contain unburnt bodies, which present marked peculiarities.¹ The skulls are distinctly dolicho-

⁷ Mr. Cunningham, in a letter in the *Archæologia*, vol. xv. p. 338, observes that nearly all the long barrows in his district (Wilts) stand east and west, the east being the wider end; and that, out of eleven which he opened, nine had skeletons at the east end. Sir Richard Colt Hoare says, "We have invariably found the sepulchral deposit placed under the east end of the tumulus, and the interments to consist of skeletons, buried in an irregular and promiscuous manner, and unaccompanied by those five urns, gilt daggers, &c., which have rewarded our labours in the bowl and bell-shaped barrows."—*Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 43.

⁸ Nympsfield, Uley, and Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire; Littleton Drew, and West Kennet, in Wiltshire; Weland's Smithy, in Berkshire; and Stoney Littleton, in Somersetshire, are instances of chambered long barrows.

⁹ At Winterbourne Stoke, and Tilshead, Wilts, as was the case in many other long barrows in the chalk district of that county, the bodies seem to have been placed on the surface of the chalk, after the turf was removed. In a few instances a rough pavement of flint nodules was found below the bodies, whilst at Winterbourne Stoke, and elsewhere, circular or oval hollows, sunk in the chalk, were placed near the deposit

of bones; these contained nothing, but may possibly have served the same purpose, namely, receptacles for food or drink, as the urns deposited with unburnt bodies in the later grave hills.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Thurnam for the valuable account of the Scamridge skulls which is appended in this note; the measurements are given in the table at the end of this memoir. "Five of the *calvaria* are sufficiently perfect to be measured, and their dimensions are given in the subjoined table. These, with four others still more fragmentary, appear to be the remains of five men and four women; four from 20 to 25, and five from 40 to 65 years. Of another adult the fragments are too scanty to indicate sex or age. In addition, there are fragments of the skulls of four or five children, of from 3 to 7 years; making a total of fourteen or fifteen. With one exception, all seem to have been of more or less elongate dolichocephalous type. There were marks of previous disturbance in the barrow; and Mr. Greenwell thinks that the excepted skull (No. 1) may have belonged to a secondary interment, which is probable from its more porous texture and lighter color, due, perhaps, to its more superficial position in the barrow. This skull is of moderately brachycephalous type, having a relative breadth of

cephalous,² and of a type quite different from those found in the round barrows; whilst, in many instances,³ as at Scam-

80, and its general form corresponds to that of the round-barrow skulls. I have classed it as that of a man, but it is below the medium size, and as the sexual characters are not well marked, it may be of a female. Of the four other skulls which can be measured, two, Nos. 2, 4, are moderately ('71), and two exaggeratedly dolichocephalous ('67—'56). The two last, Nos. 3, 5, require particular notice. No. 3 is probably the *calvarium* of a woman of sixty years, with all the great sutures ossified and nearly effaced. It is the most elongate and narrow cranium I have ever examined; its scaphoid character being most extraordinary, considering that it is not an example of *scaphocephalus* proper, or congenital synostosis of the parietals. The sagittal suture is, however, exuberantly ossified in the interforaminal region; and the obliteration probably dates from the infantile period. There is a single patulous parietal foramen, with rounded edges, in the border of the left parietal; and very distinct traces of a *carina* along the median line of the very narrow and flat frontal. To a small extent, some of the existing narrowness of this *calvarium* may be due to posthumous distortion; the lower edges of the parietals having been pressed inwards by the superincumbent earth. No. 5 appears to be the skull of a young man of about twenty. All the sutures are perfectly open within and without. It has the same narrow frontal as No. 3, but without any trace of a central ridge. There is marked annular depression in the post coronal region, which, with the full parietal tubers, gives a slightly *klinocephalic* character to the *calvarium*. The left parietal foramen is a little larger than the right, corresponding with which the left parietal tuber is fuller than that of the opposite side. But for the greater development of these tubers the skull would be almost as narrow as No. 3. This skull is, moreover, of great interest, from the clear indications it affords of having been violently cleft at the time of death. The clefts affect the centre and left side of the frontal and the left parietal. The numerous fragments of No. 6 could scarcely fail to convince the most incredulous of their character and origin; the edges of the divided bones being perfectly sharp and clean, and the fragments themselves having a porce-

laneous character quite distinct from that of the unsplit bones. Two, perhaps three, blows must have been inflicted on the head, probably by a blunt instrument, as a club or stone axe. One, on the frontal region, did not at first split the skull, but broke away part of the outer table, and produced a depression and cracking of the inner. In one or two other very fragmentary skulls, including that of one child, less decided marks of cleavage are seen. The very distinct proofs of it in No. 5, and above all in No. 6, are most important, as establishing the same rites and usages in the north of the island with those the traces of which I have now so often noticed in the long barrows of Wilts and Gloucestershire."

² Long barrows at Haslerton-on-the-Wolds, in the East Riding, and at Dunnington, near Rotherham, contained several skeletons, of which the skulls are dolichocephalous. The examination of the long barrows of Derbyshire and Staffordshire by Mr. Bateman and Mr. Carrington has afforded the same results. Bateman's *Vestiges*, pp. 46, 47, 91, 103; *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 94, 144. The long barrows of the S.-W. of England contained similarly shaped skulls. See papers by Dr. Thurnam, *Crania Brit.*, *passim*; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 405; *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xl. p. 315; *Memoirs Anthropol. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 120, 459. To Dr. Thurnam we are indebted for having established the connection between the long barrows and the dolichocephalic skulls, as also that the broken skulls from the long barrows are the result of purposely inflicted violence.

³ A long barrow, four miles from Pickering, in the North Riding, almost leveled by cultivation, and which ran east and west, produced at the east end portions of a leg and arm bone, quite black, and below these a skeleton, which wanted the skull, which, indeed, had never been buried with it. Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 227. In the south-west of England cleft and broken skulls have been found in the long barrows of West Kennet, Littleton Drew, Uley, Tilshead, and Redmarton.—*Crania Brit.*, pl. 58. Dr. Thurnam has since found such cleft crania in the long barrow on Fyfield Hill, near Pewsey, Wilts.

ridge, some of the bodies have been subjected to violence and mutilation, the skulls being broken into pieces, apparently by a blunt instrument, such as a stone hatchet or a club. At Scamridge the flesh must have been removed from the bones before they were buried, or they would not have been found displaced in the manner above described. This strange breakage of the skulls and removal of the flesh suggest practices, at the burial of these people, which even historic evidence might lead us to look for. It appears to me, that, in these broken skulls and disjointed bones, we have the result of feasts, at the interment, where slaves, captives, or others were slain and eaten. In what other way are we to account for the circumstances connected with these deposits? If they were the bodies of persons slain in war, we might indeed find the cleft skull and the broken bones, but the accidents of war do not account for the scattered state in which the bones are found, and that in cases where no subsequent disturbance appears to have displaced them. And though anthropophagism may appear so repugnant to us, that we can scarcely realise its ever having occurred in our country, yet it has been so universal, that we may, from this very universality, admit the possibility that the early inhabitants of Britain may have practised it. But we have, beyond this, the authority of ancient writers,⁴ that, at a time many centuries probably after the period when these long barrows were raised, cannibalism was common in Britain and the adjacent countries. I leave the facts as I have described them, and which present so remarkable a feature in the Scamridge barrow, to the consideration of the reader, only repeating that the circumstances are consistent with the supposition that these broken bones had been the relics of the funeral feast, but scarcely, I think, with any other hypothesis.

It is probable that in these long barrows we have the earliest sepulchral remains in Britain.⁵ Their great extent, and the disproportion between the size of the mound and that of the place of burial within it, betokens high antiquity. No trace of metal has been found with the interments, and in

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, Lib. v. cap. 32; Strabo, Lib. iv., cap. 5, s. 4; Plinius, Lib. vii. s. 2, Lib. xxx. s. 4; Hieronymus adv. Jovinianum, Lib. ii.

⁵ I here only refer to Britain since it assumed its present geological features and system of animal and vegetable life.

Many earlier forms of man have no doubt occupied this country, of some of which we find the implements in the drift, associated with animal remains of a type, as regards species, other than that now existing upon the earth.

many of them, as at Scamridge, no implements or weapons of any kind have occurred. It is doubtful also whether any pottery, of the same date as the original burials, has been discovered in a long barrow.⁶ The presumption then is in favor of their having been raised by a people ignorant of metal, though, of course, no proof of such ignorance can be alleged from its absence. Taking, however, all the circumstances into consideration, I am inclined to attribute them to a stone-using race, which was supplanted or intruded upon by one acquainted with bronze, and whose burial places remain in the round barrows described in this memoir. This view is strengthened, I think, by the craniological features of the long-barrow skulls. They certainly possess a marked character, and one which, I agree with Dr. Thurnam in thinking, is typical of a distinct race. Had one or two of the long barrows afforded the dolichocephalic skull, whilst others had given us skulls similar to those of the round barrows and the short cists, perhaps no theory of distinct races would have been tenable. But the long barrows have, hitherto, universally produced the dolichocephalic skull, which, taken in connection with the shape and method of the mound, the absence of metal and perhaps of pottery, and the manner of the burial, affords strong grounds for believing that, in them, we have the places of sepulture of a different and an earlier race than the bronze-using people to whom the round barrows belong.

The barrows next examined [B] lie a little beyond the district which we have been considering. They are found in a hollow in the chalk hills of the wolds, about four miles north of Driffild. They are called the Danes' Graves, and number nearly two hundred,⁷ lying close together in a wood. Several were opened a few years ago by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Society, but the greater number have been destroyed in digging for rabbits. I examined fourteen of these barrows on March 27th and 28th. They are all small, from 16 to 24

⁶ Dr. Thurnam found fragments of pottery in the chamber at West Kennet, but as that barrow had, undoubtedly, been disturbed before, perhaps more than once, it cannot be asserted that these fragments belonged to the primary interments. By the kindness of Dr. Thurnam I possess specimens of this pottery,

and, judging from the shape, ornamentation, and ware, I am inclined to attribute it to a late period—the end, in fact, of the round-barrow burials.

⁷ Before the wolds were enclosed a great many more existed; it is stated that there were, originally, as many as 500.

ft. in diameter, and from 2 to 4 ft. in height, and are formed of chalk-rubble, the material at hand. The interment, in every one which I examined, as I believe was the case in those previously opened, was contained in an oblong hollow made in the natural surface, and the bodies appear to have been laid therein without coffins. As all the interments were, except in some unimportant particulars, similar, I will give the general character of the burial, noting separately those which presented any exceptional features. The bodies^s were doubled up, so as to suggest that they must have been tightly swathed, in order to bring them into the required

* I am indebted to Dr. Thurnam for the account of the skulls, which is appended in this note. The measurements are in the table at the end of this memoir. "In the table, measurements of eleven skulls from the Danes' Graves are given. The six first were obtained by the Rev. W. Greenwell in the excavations of 1864; the other five were procured in 1849 in excavations under the direction of Dr. Thurnam, during a visit of the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club. Two of these last (Nos. 7, 8) are in the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and three (Nos. 9, 10, 11) are in Dr. Thurnam's collection. The eleven skulls have an average relative breadth of '73, and, with one exception, may be called dolichocephalous. Seven of the number are of very elongate form ('70—'73); three are of the intermediate, ovoid, or orthocephalic form ('75—'78); one only is sub-brachycephalous ('79), and this is the skull of a woman (No. 3), from grave No. 8. This last may, perhaps, but not necessarily, indicate an intermixture of race. In two of the skulls (Nos. 2, 7) the frontal suture is persistent, which has produced a slight degree of frontal brachycephalism, so that the general form is less elongate than it might otherwise have been. The dolichocephalism of these Danes'-Grave skulls is more marked than those of an extended series of Anglo-Saxon skulls, the measurements of which are given in *Crania Britannica* (tables vi., vii.) the relative breadth of which is '75. On the other hand, it is less than that of the still more extended series of ancient British skulls from the long barrows, in tables i., ii., of my paper "On the Two Principal Forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls," (*Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, 1865, vol. i. p. 120, 459.) In this class of dolichocephalous British skulls, the average

relative breadth is not more than '70 or '71. The problem in regard to the skulls from the Dunes Graves seems to be—are they what the popular name of these small barrows would imply, the skulls of Scandinavian settlers, during, perhaps, the ninth century, or are they those of descendants of a remnant of the primeval British long-heads, whose skeletons are found in the long barrows of the stone period? The archaeological data are not sufficiently conclusive to enable us to decide positively this question. So far as the craniological evidence goes, there would be no difficulty in connecting these skulls with the cranial form of the Scandinavian peoples at the present day. This is well known to be a long ovoid, and to be characterised by a full and protuberant occiput. (*Meigs' Catalogue of Crania*, &c., pp. 19, 20. *Id.* in Nott and Gliddon's *Indigenous Races*, 1857, p. 290. *Crania Brit.*, pl. 27, 48, 56.) This last is a marked feature in the Danes'-Grave skulls. On the other hand, they appear to be distinguished from the ancient British long-barrow type, not only by their more moderate dolichocephalism, and by the somewhat greater prominence of the parietal tubers, with which the former is intimately connected, but likewise by the slighter prominence of the glabella and supra-orbitaries. These distinctions are not adduced as conclusive; but so far as they go, they are more readily connected with the cranial characteristics of some Teutonic-speaking people, than with those of any ancient Celtic-speaking people of the west of Europe, so far as these are known to us. As regards the facial characteristics of the Danes'-Grave skulls, the jaws are, with scarcely an exception, upright or orthognathous. The crowns of the teeth are moderately eroded."

shape; the hands were placed upon the chin, the bodies were laid some on the left side, some on the right;² of those which were sufficiently perfect to determine this, six were on the left and five on the right side; and, whilst seven had the head to the north, or to the west and east of north, two had the head to the south-west, one to the west, and one to the east. In one instance two bodies were interred in the same barrow; the first, that of a child about five years old, just below the summit of the mound; the second, that of an old person, and, judging from the imperfect pelvic bones, most probably a male, in the usual hollow made in the natural surface of the ground. In three of the graves an urn had been placed close behind the head; these urns, however, were so much decayed that the shape can scarcely be ascertained. They are quite plain, pale grey-colored on the exterior, but of a dark-colored ware in the middle, full of small pieces of stone. These urns are well formed by the hand, with the lip slightly turned over, and they measure a little under 5 in. in height. The most remarkable interment, [c] was that of a man, laid upon his right side, and with his head to the west; lying close to the mouth, so close that some of the teeth are discolored by the oxidation of the metal, was a piece of iron, too much corroded to assign any certain use to it (see woodcut, fig. 1, half orig. size). On each side of the man were placed two goats, their heads like his to the west. The occurrence of a goat with an interment is exceedingly rare; we have numerous instances where a horse,



Fig. 1. Iron relic, Danes' graves.

ox, deer, bear, or dog has been buried with a man, but except this at Danesdale, I only know of two other cases where a goat has been found associated with a burial.³

² Of five bodies discovered, when the examination by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club took place, two had been laid upon the face.

³ In a barrow six miles north of Pickering was a cist, in which was found a skeleton, where, along with several flints, was deposited near the head of the man

a head of a goat. Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 223. At Thetfield, near Royston, with the remains of other animals, were found in a barrow two crania, which Professor Quekett considered to be those of goats. *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 306.

In the almost entire absence of weapons or implements in these barrows, it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the period of their erection, or the people by whom they were made. The name "Danes' Graves" cannot, I think, be taken as proof of their Danish origin, for that designation has been frequently applied to camps, lines of entrenchment, and barrows,² which have certainly no connection with that people. The cruelties practised by the Danes seem to have made so strong an impression, that the people who suffered by them appear, sometimes, to have called certain works of unknown origin after the name of their oppressors, just as similar remains were named after the Devil. At the same time some weight must be allowed to the popular tradition, and if nothing about these grave-hills is inconsistent with a Scandinavian origin, it is only fair to admit the probability of their being the burial-mounds of some Danish settlers.³

My own opinion is against their Scandinavian origin. The mode of interment is unlike any which has been found in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden; I do not make this assertion upon my own authority, but on that of Mr. C. F. Herbst, of Copenhagen, the Scandinavian archæologist, to whom my notes of these barrows were submitted. The pottery also is not such as is found in Danish grave-mounds, either in shape or fabric. On the other hand, if we attribute these mounds to a tribe of kindred origin with those who buried under the ordinary round barrows, we are met by more than one difficulty. The bodies in the "Danes' Graves" had been interred in a much more contracted position than is usual in the "British" burials. The great number of these barrows, and their close grouping, are also peculiar features; for, though two or more "British" grave-hills are frequently found together, they are never massed like graves in a churchyard, as at the "Danes' Graves." The crania, as will be seen from Dr. Thurnam's account, are not of the brachycephalic type, so distinctive of those found in the round barrows and stone cists, but approach nearer to the long Scandinavian type; a fact of great importance, when the number of

² The "Danes' Hills," near Skipwith, in the East Riding, are barrows which contain interments of burnt bodies, having nothing in common with what we know of Danish interments.

³ The burials are those of a settled

population and not of any mere invaders. This is indicated by the number of the barrows, and the frequency of the interments of women, as well as by that of a child.

skulls examined is considered. The pottery is neither in shape or color like that of which so many specimens are described in this memoir, and it also differs from it in the absence of ornamentation, but it is still more unlike Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon ware. The presence of iron indicates a comparatively late period; but the nature of the objects found, whether of iron or bronze,⁴ gives little, if any, clue to the origin of these barrows. I therefore prefer, in the absence of any distinctive data, to offer no conjecture as to the people to whom these burials belong, nor do I think that further examination would add much information to that which we already possess.

April 20th, August 30th and 31st, and September 1st, were occupied in examining two "houes" on the moors, about two miles south-west of Egton Bridge, near Whitby. One of these, called "William Houe," had been in great part removed to make a road, passing close by it. It must have been, originally, not less than 80 ft. in diameter, and was formed entirely of stones. When the greater part was taken away, forty-seven years ago, several urns were found. I examined nearly the whole of that which remained, and found two interments of burnt bodies. The first [D], which was at the south-east side of the barrow, was laid upon the natural surface, and extended over an area of about 3 ft. in diameter; the burnt bones, interspersed with fragments of charcoal, were scattered on the surface, and amongst them were placed, here and there, at intervals of several inches, fifteen jet beads (see woodcut, fig. 2), which had doubtless



Fig. 2. Beads of jet; orig. size.

formed the necklace of the female whose ashes were here deposited. The beads had been unstrung, and strewn amongst the burnt bones, after they were cold, for there was not the

⁴ A bronze armlet, found with part of a jet armlet and what is called an iron comb, was disinterred in one of the "Daves' graves;" it is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and is figured, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xvi. p. 63. It is not

unlike an armlet of gold, in the Copenhagen Museum, figured in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, No. 380, edit. 1859, and so far countenances the supposition of the Danish origin of these barrows.

slightest trace of the action of fire upon the jet. Fourteen of the beads are cylindrical, swelling in the middle, and measure in length from 1 in. to $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the remaining bead is of an oblong square form. They are all perforated with great regularity; and this, together with the narrowness of the piercing, makes it almost certain that the drilling must have been worked by a metal implement. The other interment [E] lay just east of the centre of the "houe," and about 3 ft. above the original surface of the ground. An urn was found, surrounded by burnt bones,⁵ placed without any protection amongst the stones of which the barrow was formed. This urn, flower-pot shaped, is $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 6 in. wide at the rim, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the base; it is ornamented with four lines of impressions, herring-bone fashion, round the upper two inches; the impressions are formed probably by a square-ended piece of wood or bone; the lip has, on the inner surface, a row of similar impressions.⁶ Some burnt flint chippings were found scattered amongst the material of which the barrow was made. I, at the same time, examined thoroughly a barrow, consisting entirely of stones, [F], about 50 yds. north of "William Houe." This, though it had been disturbed in digging stone for the road, had never been touched in the centre; however, except some burnt stones, charcoal, two pieces of burnt, and two of unburnt, flint, no signs of an interment were discovered.

On April 21st and 22nd, I opened two of the "Three Houes" on Egton South Moor. The northernmost barrow [G] first examined is 68 ft. in diameter, and 8 ft. high. It is formed of alternate layers of sand and turf, with here and there a stone at wide intervals, and had never previously been disturbed, the bands of yellow sand and dark-colored turf showing a beautiful section as we proceeded. We cut a trench 12 ft. wide from the south side, through the centre, and then extended it parallel to the outside, towards the east and west, for 40 ft. on each side of our first cutting. Two interments of burnt bodies were discovered; the first was 9 ft. from the outside of the mound, on the south side, and only 14 in. below the surface of the houe; nothing was found with it; the second occurred 9 ft. east of the centre,

⁵ The bones are those of a single body, and of a person of moderate size, probably under thirty years of age.

⁶ This urn is very similar in shape and ornamentation to one found near Castle Howard, figured in this memoir, *infra*.

and was 4 ft. below the surface of the hone, neither was anything found with it. I believe that this last was the original interment, and that it was intended to be in the centre of the barrow; that, however, had been lost in throwing up so large a mass of material. The examination was carried out for a considerable distance round the centre without finding any other burial, and I feel convinced that in this deposit—without urn, implement, or even a piece of flint—we have the interment of the person in whose honor the barrow was raised. A fragment of burnt flint was found on the S.E. side amongst the material of the hone.

The middle mound of the "Three Houses" [H] was examined by cutting a trench 16 ft. wide at the exterior, and narrowing to 12 feet at the centre, beyond which it was carried above 8 ft. This house, 40 ft. in diameter, 5 ft. high, was, like the first, formed of alternate layers of sand and turf. Nothing was found in it. Though the cutting was so extensive, I fear that we missed the interment, and I reserve to a future opportunity a further examination.

The barrows next examined were equally disappointing. They were situated upon the Hambleton Training Ground, near Thirsk, and were two undisturbed grave-hills, amongst several already opened, which occupy a position overlooking the great plain of York. They possess a view of almost unrivalled extent, standing as they do on the verge of the limestone cliffs that formed the shore of the sea, which, once occupying the plain of York, rolled its waves against that massive barrier.

The first [I] was examined on April 25th; it lay on the E. side of the Oasten Dike, an earthwork which runs for some miles parallel to the range of the cliffs. It was situated a few hundred yards from a small fortified place on the very edge of the crag, which, in fact, forms one side of its defences. The barrow, 68 ft. in diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, was entirely of sand. We opened it by a cut 12 ft. wide, carried through the centre from the south side, and supplemented by another trench 14 ft. wide, which extended about 30 ft. along the south and south-east side. Just south-east of the centre, on the natural surface, was a space 3 ft. in diameter, covered with burnt earth and charcoal. Here and there amongst the sand were a few flint chippings, some burnt, the greater number unburnt, and also pottery, mere shards, however, and

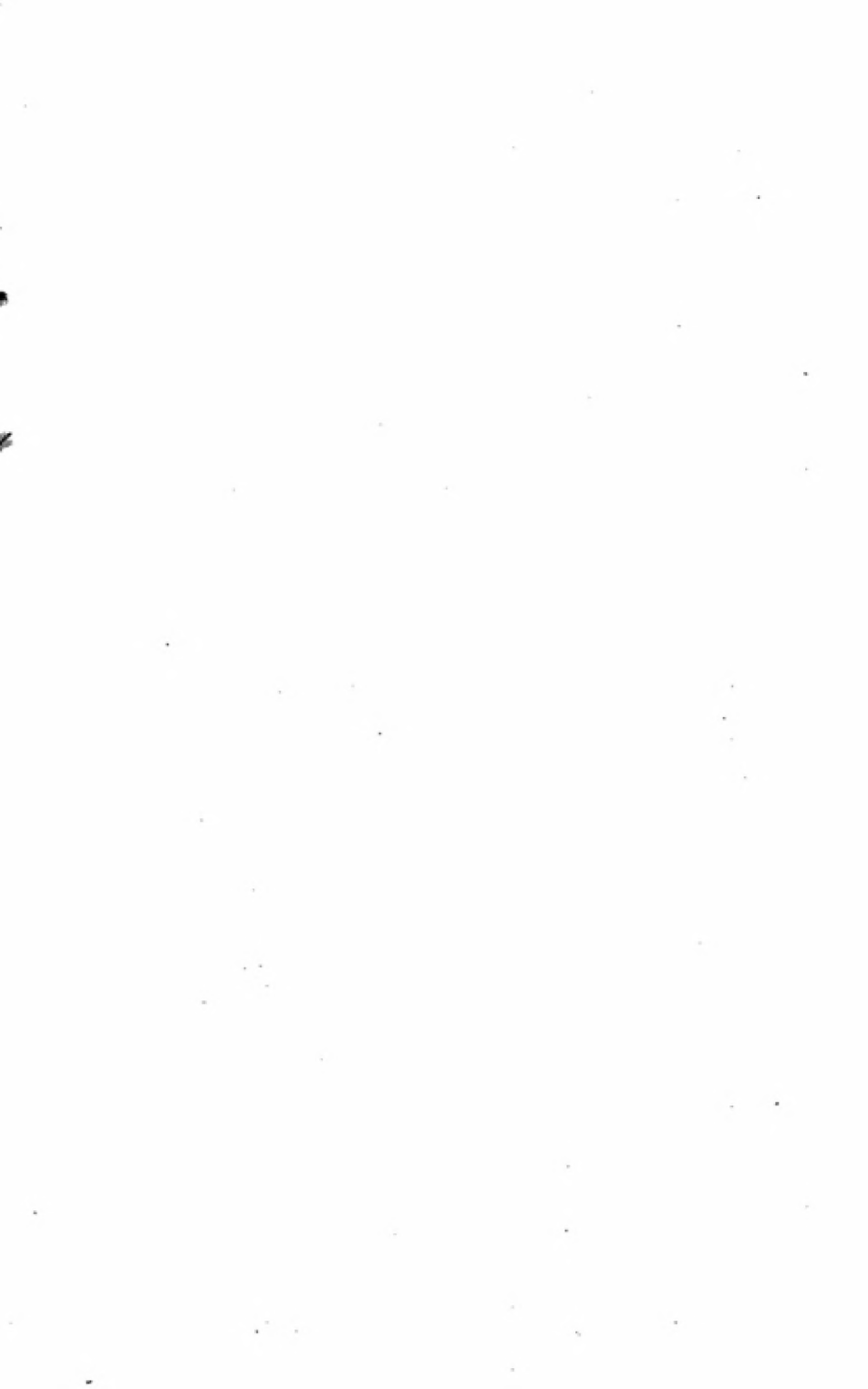




Fig. 3.—Height 12 inches, width 11 inches.

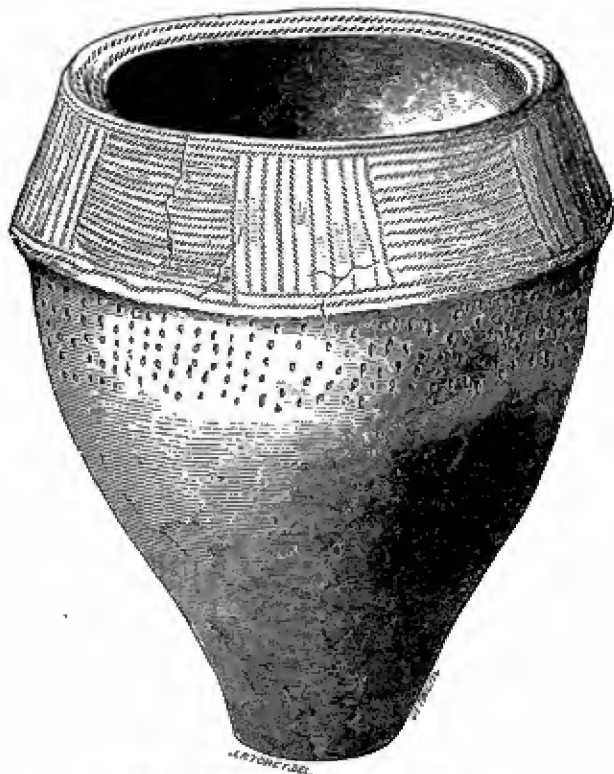


Fig. 4.—Height 16 inches, width 13 inches.
Urns found in a barrow, Sutton Brow, near Thirsk.

which had never formed an entire vessel since they were deposited in the house. We noticed a quantity of charcoal, but not a vestige of bone or any signs of an interment were found in any part of the barrow. Here again it is possible that the burial-place was missed.

The second barrow [J] about half a mile south of that last described, was opened on April 26th. Unlike the first, it was entirely of stone, 30 ft. in diameter and 4 ft. high. The stones were regularly laid from a central point overlapping each other; on approaching the centre these limestone flags became larger, and were placed with great regularity, sloping from the centre on every side. Notwithstanding so much promise, nothing was found below this pile but a layer of clay about 6 or 8 in. in thickness, placed there purposely, and in this were found some fragments of charcoal. Two flint chippings occurred near the top of the barrow. It was so carefully examined that I think it impossible that the interment could have been missed, and the only conjecture which suggests itself is this, that an unburnt body had been placed upon the layer of clay under the pile of stones, and that it had gone entirely to decay.⁷

After so many failures, I commenced, on April 28th, upon another barrow [K] without much hope. It was in a plantation on the left side of the road, ascending Sutton Brow, within a few yards of the edge of the cliff, and about a mile south of the barrow last described. It was 44 feet in diameter, 5 feet high, and formed of earth and clay, with a few stones here and there. A trench 10 feet wide was cut from the south side, and several flint chippings, amongst them a well formed "thumb-flint," were found, together with four fragments of pottery. On reaching the centre, and just 3 feet E.S.E. of it, 1 ft. below the summit, we came upon an urn (see woodcut, fig. 3) standing upright and full of burnt bones.⁸ Owing to damage when the trees were planted, and to its being so near the surface, the upper part was much decayed. It is 12 inches high, 11 inches wide, with an overhanging rim, ornamented with two lines at the top

⁷ I have examined a large number of small barrows in Northumberland, where no trace of an interment remained; the absence of any remains of bone is due, I believe, to the shallow burial in these

cases, the free admission of air and wet completely destroying the body.

⁸ The bones are those of a single body, and that of a person of full age and of small size.

and two at the bottom, round the rim, the space between being marked out into a series of triangles, filled in with parallel lines. Below the rim the urn slopes inward slightly for $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, when the sides fall away rapidly to the bottom, which is 4 inches wide. The space below the rim is occupied by a double zigzag line. All the lines are made by impressions of cord.⁹ At the bottom of the double zigzag is a row of short impressions of cord $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of an inch in length, and half an inch apart. At the centre of the barrow, just below the surface, were a few stones placed together, no doubt to protect the urn, which we found just 2 feet below them. This urn (see woodcut, fig. 4), a large and fine specimen, was carefully packed round with clay and charcoal. It contained a burnt body,¹ which had been so perfectly consumed, that the bones occupied only a few inches at the bottom of the urn. This urn stood upright, about 2 feet above the surface of the ground, the intervening space being filled in with well-worked clay. The urn is 16 inches high, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth, and 18 inches at the bottom of the rim. The rim, which is overhanging, is 5 inches high, and has two lines at the top and two at the bottom, of impressed cord, running round it; between these are alternate series of horizontal and vertical lines of impressed cord, and the lip has likewise two lines on the inside, similar to those on the outside. Below the rim, for a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, are rows of impressions, made by a sharp oval-ended instrument, probably of wood or bone. The width of this urn, at the bottom, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

It will be remarked, that, amongst the material of this barrow, were found chippings of flint and shards of pottery.² This is of almost universal occurrence in barrows, and they seem to have been placed with some religious significance. They cannot be accidental; flint is not found in the district, and the sand or other material of the barrow could not

⁹ This impression, the most general ornament of the cinerary urns, has, probably, not been made by a cord of hemp, but by one of twisted strips of hide, as at least may be inferred from the appearance of the impression.

¹ The bones are those of a single body, and that of a person of average size and of full age.

² What are pious rites in one religion

are frequently accounted accursed in a new one, and it is not impossible that this, a sacred Pagan custom, was remembered in Christian times, but was then associated with what is irreligious and unholy. A passage in *Hamlet*, act. v. scene 1, may have reference to this ancient rite, where the priest, answering Laertes relative to the burial of Ophelia, a suicide and so unholy, says:—

naturally contain them, and, moreover, they are more or less artificially chipped. The position in which they are found, here and there one, gives the impression that they were thrown in as the barrow was raised; and we may infer, I think, that they were scattered over the grave by the friends or relations. We can readily understand why the flint arrow-head or the knife was placed by the side, or with the ashes, of its former owner; the pious hope that it might be of use in another life was the motive; but what was the object in putting near the body these chippings of flint and fragments of pottery? Doubtless they symbolized some religious idea, though what that idea was we may scarcely conjecture. Was flint, the producer of fire,³ an emblem of fire and light, and symbolical of purification and a new life? Did the potsherds,—the vessel broken and its use gone,—betoken death, destruction, and decay?

“ Her death was doubtful;
And, but that great command o’ersway’d
the order,
She should in ground un sanctified have
lodged
Till the last trump; for charitable
prayers,

Shards, flints, and pebbles, should be
thrown on her.”

³ The Abbé Cochet adduces instances where, with Gallo-Roman, Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon interments, a flint and steel have been found. *La Normandie Souterraine*, 2nd edit. 1855, pp. 253—9.

(To be continued.)

ON THE USE OF ANTIQUE GEMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

THE natural sequel to the memoir on mediæval gem engraving, given in the previous volume of this Journal, is a brief notice of the seals and other metal work of the middle ages to which antique gems were so often adapted. The subjects engraved upon such gems were interpreted by their new possessors as representing scriptural or legendary subjects and events: nor could it be otherwise in the times

“When Peter’s keys some christen’d Jove adorn,
And Pan to Moses lends his pagan horn.”

Thus the triple Bacchic mask of the Roman stage was revered as the Trinity in person, and so declared by the added legend “*Hæc est Trinitatis imago*”; every veiled female head passed for a Madonna or a Magdalene, and received an appropriate motto; and Isis nursing Horus could not but serve for the Virgin and the Infant Saviour. Nor was this substitution confined to gems alone, for the long-famed “Black Virgins” of Auvergne, when at last examined by the critical eye of the antiquary, proved to be actual basalt figures of these imported Egyptian divinities, which, having merely changed names, continued to attract devotees to their shrines, and in greater flocks than before. That frequent type, Thalia holding a mask in her hand, by an ingenious interpretation becomes Herodias carrying the Baptist’s head, and the skipping fawn, her dancing daughter, and as such appears in a seal of the fourteenth century with the allusive motto, “*Jesus est amor meus*.” Another remarkable example is supplied by an intaglio recently acquired for the British Museum on the dispersion of the Dineley collection. It is set in a silver mounting, in the usual fashion of privy seals or *secreta* of this class, in the fourteenth century, with a loop at the top, being thus conveniently carried about the person



Fig. I.—British Museum; from the Dingley Collection.



Fig. II.—Ring in the Waterton Collection.



Fig. III.—Ring in the Waterton Collection.



or by a cord around the neck; the margin bears an inscription common on amatory seals of the period—+ IE SVI SEL DE AMVR LEL. This fine gem is here figured on a scale double of the original (fig. 1.). Jupiter with his eagle at his side did duty amongst Charles VI.'s jewels for the similarly attended evangelist. Silenus, with his crooked *pedum*, was fittingly transformed into some crosiered abbot, "purple as his wines"; whilst Cupids made very orthodox angels. But the unlucky Pan and his Satyrs were for ever banished from the finger, and their forms now appear recast as devils in pictures of the realms of torment; and all this in virtue of their caprine extremities, for *Zernibog*, "the Black God," the Evil Principle of the ancient Slavonians, had become *Zernebock* in Teutonic parlance, and therefore was considered as compounded of man and goat.

Caracalla's head, with its curly locks close cropped, and its surly expression, was always taken for that of the irascible apostle, hence such a gem is known with the name ΠΕΤΡΟΣ added, to make all sure: I have myself observed the same head (in the Bosanquet collection) similarly *Petri-fied* by the insertion of a key in the field by some mediæval hand.

The monks of Durham took the head of Jupiter Fulgurator for St. Oswald's, and, as such, placed it on their common seal, with the title CAPVT SANCTI OSWALDI. Serapis passed current for the authentic portrait of Christ, and in all probability was the real original of the conventional likeness adopted by Byzantine art.

The finest cameo in the world, "the great agate of France," the Apotheosis of Augustus, was long respected in the Sainte Chapelle as a contemporary representation of the glory of Joseph in Egypt; whilst another noble work, the "Dispute between Neptune and Minerva," where a tree encircled by a vine (easily mistaken for the serpent) occupies the centre of the group, was presented to Louis XIV. (in 1685) by the authorities of a church in which, from time immemorial, it had been displayed as the picture of Adam and Eve in Paradise.

Antique intagli set in mediæval seals¹ have in general a Latin motto added around the setting. For this the Lom-

¹ The official seal was of large size, and always cut upon metal—silver for royalty, brass (latten) for other dignitaries.

It was for the secretum or private seal of the individual that antique stones were so much in request.

bard letter is almost invariably employed, seldom the black letter, whence it may be inferred, which indeed was likely on other grounds, that such seals for the most part came from Italy, where the Lombard alphabet was the sole one in use until superseded by the revived Roman capitals about the year 1450. Of such mottos a few examples will serve to give an idea, premising that the stock was not very extensive, judging from the frequent repetition of the same legends on seals of widely different devices. Thus a very spirited intaglio of a lion passant, found in Kent, proclaims—"SUM LEO QUOVIS EO NON NISI VERA VEHO"; another gives the admonition to secrecy—"TECTA LEGE, LECTA TEGE"; a third, in the same strain,—"*CLAUSA SECRETA TEGO.*" Less frequently seen are legends in old French, and these are more quaint in their style; for instance, around a female bust—"PRIVÉ SUY E PEU CONNU"; whilst a gryllus of a head covered with a fantastic helmet made up of masks gives the advice, in allusion to the enigmatical type,—"*CREEZ CE KE VUUS LIRREZ,*" for "*Croyez ce que vous lirez.*"

The young head of M. Aurelius, mounted in a pointed-oval setting, gives the strange notice, "*Credat omnis pii jaspidis*" (*signo* being understood). Perhaps it was taken for the portrait of Jasper, or Caspar, the first of the Three Kings of Cologne.

Often the legend merely expresses the owner's name; thus an intaglio, Pegasus, reads—"S. JOHANNIS DE BOSCO," who, from the device he has adopted, may be supposed a Templar. The most valuable example known to me is one (fig. II.) in the Waterton collection, set with an intaglio of three heads; Julia's between her sons Caius and Lucius, exactly as the same type appears on a denarius minted by C. Marius Trogus (a moneyer of Augustus), whose signet the gem in all likelihood was at the first. The inscription, "*S. ANDRE-OCTI DE S'RA,*" proves it to have been reset for some Italian *Andreotto* di Serra(?).² Another (in the same collection), finely engraved Persian vizored-helmet, the so-called "Head

² A gold ring set with a small rude intaglio of Pax, bearing the legend *RICARDVS RSR*, said to have been found at Ratisbon, was sold (a few years back) to a certain enthusiastic amateur for the monstrous price of 45*l.*, as the identical ring which betrayed our *Cœur de Lion* in that city

into the power of the recreant Austrian Duke. The astute importer, on my remarking, at its first sight, that *RSR* bore more analogy to *Episcopus* than to *Plantagenet*, skilfully altered the letters so as to support its pretensions, and his ingenuity was fully rewarded.

of Darius," is encircled with the legend *s' CONRADI DE COMITE*, "*Corrado del Conte*," also an Italian, as appears besides from the pattern of the elegant ring enchasing it (fig. III.).

It, however, appears to me that the earliest adaptation of antique gems to the purpose of mediæval signets had another and a more rational motive in its origin than the one, usually assigned. The Frankish successors to the name of the Cæsars also appropriated by a similar usurpation their images upon gems, by the simple expedient of adding their own superscriptions around the setting. Carloman (764) takes for his seal a female bust with the hair tied in a knot upon the head: Charlemagne, the laureated head of M. Aurelius; and later, that of Serapis; both profiles, be it observed, being almost identical in character. Louis I. (816) seals with that of Antoninus Pius: Pepin le Bref with the Indian Bacchus; Pepin duc d'Aquitaine with Caligula's portrait. Charles II. (843) adopts an imperial laureated head (not identified); Lothaire, that of Caracalla (*Révue Archéologique* for 1858). It is usual to consider all such portraits as having been regarded in those days as authentic likenesses of divine personages or of the saints, and to have been adopted merely out of veneration for the supposed prototypes; but a circumstance has lately come under my notice almost carrying with it the conviction that these princes selected, out of the numerous antique gems at their command, such portraits as presented a resemblance either real or fancied to their own features. However remote the likeness, it could not but be more faithful to nature than aught that the decrepit art of their day could produce, even upon metal. Amongst the Anglo-Saxon charters of St. Denys, two seals of our kings (published by Sir F. Madden in this *Journal*, vol. xiii.) have furnished me both with the first idea, and also with the strongest support of this explanation of the practice. The first seal, that of Offa (a great patron of the art of engraving, as his coins, the best executed in the Saxon series, amply demonstrate), is a profile of himself crowned, full of an individuality perfectly marvellous in a work of that epoch, and evidently cut upon a metal seal. But the later Edgar (whose the second is), could command the services of no such skilful hand to supply him with his portrait from the life; he, therefore, has converted into his own the diademed head of some youthful Seleucidan prince,

a superb intaglio in a large *cabochon* gem, 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in measurement. In my previous memoir in this Journal a full description has been given of Lothaire's attempt to resuscitate the glyptic art sufficiently to perpetuate his own image in a gem: disappointed, however, in the results obtained, he appears finally reduced, like the others of his dynasty, to content himself with the borrowed face of a Roman predecessor. The oldest example in this series where a religious motive appears to have dictated the choice of the antique subject does not occur before the date of 1176, when Louis VIII. uses for his seal, first the Abraxas god; and at a later period a Diana Venatrix.

Ecclesiastical jewels and plate were at the same time profusely enriched with engraved stones (mostly brought back from the East by returning pilgrims), a practice indeed of which the example had been set long before, even under the Cæsars, for Juvenal laughs at the ostentatious patron who transferred his gems from his fingers to the exterior of his goblets.

"Nam Virro ut multi gemmas in pocula transfert
A digitis."

And Martial more pithily alludes to the same folly—

"Gemmatum Seythiis ut luceat ignibus aurum,
Aspice quot digitos exuit iste calix!"

"How many a finger hath that cup left bare,
That gemmed with Seythian fires its gold might glare!"

But the finest and most important were reserved to embellish the golden casing of the actual shrine containing the bones of the saint, the "*decus et tutamen*" of the place. An early instance in this country is recorded of this usage. In a great dearth, Leofric, tenth Abbot of St. Alban's, sold all the gold and silver vessels of his church, "*retentis tantummodo quibusdam gemmis preciosis ad quas non invenit emptores, et quibusdam nobilibus lapidibus insculptis quos cameos vulgariter appellamus—quorum magna pars ad feretrum (the shrine) decorandum cum fabricaretur, est reservata.*"³ The last passage refers to the shrine made by the monk Anketil, soon after A.D. 1120. "*Et cum de antiquo hujus ecclesiæ thesauro prolata fuissent gemmæ ad*

³ Matt. Paris, in Vit. Abbatum, p. 26.

opus feretri decorandum, allati sunt quidam ampli lapides quos *sardios-onicleos* appellamus, et vulgariter *cadineos* [corruption of cameos] nuncupamus.”⁴ Of these shrines, the most ancient now existing is the *paliotto* of S. Ambrogio, Milan, forming by a series of bas-reliefs in gold and silver-gilt a complete casing for the high altar, and executed before the year 850. In it appear numerous antique gems, but the most interesting is a large yellow stone, irregularly oval, engraved in coarse letters (reversed on the gem), VOTV RIADÉ, expressing it to be the offering *exvoto* of some pious Lombard named Riada; by its dedicatory inscription, reminding us of the Besborough nicolo offered by Ammonius to Astarte. In Edward the Confessor’s shrine, erected by our Henry III., amongst the other jewels are enumerated many camei, fifty-five described as large, and one of special magnitude in a gold case with a chain attached, valued at 200*l.* of the money of the times.⁵

How such gems were introduced into Gothic ornamentation may be learned from this example in the Trésor de S. Denys—

“Une grande image représentée de la ceinture en haut au naturel, ayant sur la teste une très précieuse mitre enrichie de grande quantité de perles et de pierreries, avec un orfray autour du col, le tout en argent doré . . . dans le chef de l’image est aussi le chef du mesme Sainct (Hilaire), l’orfray du col est enrichi par le devant d’une très belle agathe d’une face d’homme depuis la teste jusque aux espauls; et est l’effigie auprès du naturel de l’empereur Auguste, environnée comme est aussi tout l’orfray de grande quantité de perles et riches pierreries.”

“L’orfray ou collet qui est autour du col (de S. Benoist) est enrichi de grand nombre de perles et de pierreries, et par le devant d’une excellente agathe, représentant la teste d’un homme jusques aux espauls, qui est l’effigie au naturel de l’empereur Tibere. La mitre est admirable car elle est toute parsemée de riches agathes sur lesquelles sont représentées diverses faces d’anges, d’hommes, de femmes, et d’animaux, très bien taillées et élaborées: et outre cela de plusieurs beaux rubis et saphirs et autres pierres avec plus de 300

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 88.

⁵ See, at the end of this memoir, the list of camei and gems collected by

Henry III. to enrich the shrine of the Confessor.

perles orientales. Ce reliquaire si précieux fut donné par le bon prince, Jean, Duc de Berry, l'an 1393, en reconnaissance des reliques de S. Hilaire qu'il avoit eues de l'abbé et des religieux de S. Denys."—(P. 105.)

Caylus figures several antiques, both camei and intagli, selected from nearly three hundred, at that time (1760) enchased in the sacred vessels and other ornaments belonging to the treasury of Troyes cathedral.⁶ The majority, however, remarks Caylus, were only small intagli in cornelian, and set in the *châsse*, or portable shrine, containing a most precious tooth of St. Peter, and the entire head of the cheaper St. Philip. This *châsse* had been made for Bishop Garnier, almoner to the French crusaders at the taking of Constantinople in 1204, whence he piously *stole*, "conveyed, the wise it call," the apostle's skull.

The shrine of the Three Kings of Cologne, a work of the twelfth century, is a rich store-house of antiques. The two gable-ends are adorned with the most important pieces at the goldsmith's disposal, large and beautiful camei, and the sides are studded with engraved stones of all kinds; for some subjects amongst them, Leda and the swan, for instance, the devotees of that age must have been puzzled to find a scriptural prototype.⁷ Their original number was 226, when described by Boisseree, but the best were picked out in the *hejira* of 1794. This extraordinary specimen of mediæval metal-work was made by order of Philip von Heinsberg, dom-probst, or dean, in 1170, to contain the three skulls, brought from Constantinople, and presented by the Emperor Frederic I. to the Archbishop of Cologne six years before. In 1794, out of fear of the advancing French army, all the treasures of the cathedral were hastily carried off to Arnberg, whence in 1804 they were solemnly brought back to Cologne. In this interval the shrine had been crushed, many parts of it were lost, and several gems stolen—others say, "sold for the maintenance of the ecclesiastics," in which case it would naturally be only the precious stones, not the antiques, that

⁶ Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiqu.*, t. v. pl. 52.

⁷ Could they have interpreted the swan into a gigantic dove, and have discovered in the group a most materialistic representation of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Virgin? The frequency with which this apparently most inappropriate design is introduced into

ecclesiastical ornaments, affords but too much foundation for this belief; in fact, Valentinus the Gnostic, in his application of the Greek mythology to the support of his own system of Christianity, expands this very fable, as one of those foreshowing the descent of the Saviour.

were the first to be converted into money. It was therefore completely re-made by the *Polacks*, artificers of Cologne, the missing parts of the metal-work replaced by copies, and many precious stones, as well as antiques, were supplied by the devotion of the citizens to make up the deficiencies. The length of the shrine was at the time reduced to 6 ft. 7 in.; the height and breadth remaining as before. The material is silver-gilt. No more than the one end exhibiting the skulls, blazing with diamonds (perhaps pastes) can be seen from the choir, through a strong grating. To inspect the monument, admittance into the chapel is obtained by a fee of one thaler, and a small lantern is supplied, the vaulted strong room being in utter darkness.

Next in importance as a mediæval storehouse of antique gems was the shrine at Marburg, constructed about 1250 to contain the bones of Elizabeth, Landgravine of Thüringen and Hesse, and canonized in 1235. This shrine, in the usual form of a house, surrounded by a Byzantine arcade, is 6 ft. long, 2 deep, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ high, above which the roof rises $1\frac{1}{4}$ ft. It is constructed of oak overlaid with copper thickly gilt. The arcade is filled with seated figures of the Apostles, in silver gilt, of which metal are also made the elaborate bas-reliefs covering the roof. Under pediments, one in the middle of each side, corresponding in elevation with the gable ends of the edifice, are the four principal figures, two feet in height, seated on thrones, and projecting beyond the general outlines; they are, Christ seated, Christ crucified, an angel hovering above him (stolen in 1810), the Virgin and Child, and Saint Elizabeth. The eight bas-reliefs on the roof represented scenes of the life of that saint.

The architectural portions of the metal-work were originally set with the enormous number of 824 stones, fifty-nine plates of mother-of-pearl, two large, one middle-sized, and many smaller pearls. The stones were sapphires, emeralds, amethysts, jacinths, crystals, onyxes, almandines, calcedonies, and carnelians, thus distributed: 259 in the four principal figures; 252 in the smaller: in the ornamental portions of the roof and of the frames, 313. Of these, sixty-five stones were missing, as their empty settings showed. In November, 1810, it was carried off to Cassel by the orders of the Westphalian government, but was returned to Marburg in 1814. During its absence, however, some archæological thief had

extracted every engraved gem but one, and these have disappeared for ever. Fortunately, Professor Ullman availed himself of its removal from under the grating which had preserved it for six centuries to take impressions in sealing-wax of thirty-four intagli and one cameo. The most famous of all the camei was placed above the Madonna, a splendid sardonyx of three layers, the heads of Castor and Pollux, regarded during the middle ages as a most wonderful natural production, and for which a former Elector of Mayence is said to have offered in vain the whole village of Anemöneburg. Of this, unluckily, no drawing has been preserved. Of these wax impressions Creuzer has published accurate fac-similes in his *Archæologie*, vol. iii., with a long and instructive commentary upon the subject of each. These subjects may be briefly enumerated, to exhibit the strange variety of engraved gems offered by the piety of crusaders and pilgrims, chiefly valuable then for their occult virtues. The cathedral at Marburg is the first pure gothic building raised in Germany, begun in 1235, and finished in forty-eight years, as the church of the Knights of the Teutonic Order.

The species of the stones were not marked by Ullman; probably the settings, and the hurry of the commissioners to be off with their booty, prevented his doing more than take the impressions, which we may conclude were those of all the engraved gems.

1. Two goats under a tree; good work. 2. Cupid on a lion; very archaic. 3. Jove seated; common Roman. 4. Horse lying down, the head and neck of a cow appear above him; good. 5. Warrior seated, his helmet on a cippus in front. I have little doubt that, in 1854 (at the sale of the Webb Gems), by one of those extraordinary chances so frequent in this study, this identical gem, a nicolo, came into my possession. The exact agreement in size, and in the singular false perspective of the hero's further leg, renders this opinion almost a certainty. 6. Warrior advancing; fine. 7. Jove seated; rude. 8. Head of Pallas; fine; a largish stone. 9. Raven, above him the Delphic E; rude. 10. Bonus Eventus, standing, with cornucopia; fine. 10a. A Cufic legend. 11. Jove seated; rude. 12. Fox in a car drawn by two cocks; fine. 13. Fortuna Nemesis, winged and helmeted; fine and large. 14. A horseman, with what seems a torch over his shoulder (more probably his mantle);

rude work; the only gem that has escaped, resembling a ruby. 15. Warrior seated, upon his hand a Victory, as it seems; fair. 16. A dolphin and two shells; Greek. 17. Head, laureated; rude Roman. 18. Head, perhaps Medusa's; fine. 19. Cray-fish; rude. 20. Arabic, not Cufic, legend, translated by Wahl as a Dutch name, "von Frank." 21. Roma seated between two Victories; large stone, in the rudest Roman style. 22. Arabic legend. 23. Hercules standing, his hand resting on his club; good. 24. Pegasus, or the Sassanian Winged Bull; rude. 25. Potter at work; good. 26. Persian king, slaying a monster; rude. 27. Cufic legend; very neat. 29. Fortuna, or Nemesis; good. 31. Head of Apollo, bay-crowned; in the field ΠΑΙΑΝ behind the head, and bay-sprig in front; fine Greek work: large stone. 32. Bacchante, standing, with a tray upon her head; rude. 33. Cupid mounted upon a hippocampus; fine. 34. Aquarius pouring an amphora into a crater, or perhaps a Faun; in the field four large letters, the rest on the reverse, three letters, imperfect: Creuzer proposes the reading ΤΩ ΑΜΠΕΛΩ, "to Ampelus." 35. Circular cameo, head of Pallas in the early Greek manner and flat relief. This stone, 1½ inch wide, was placed in the centre of the canopy over the fifth apostle.

We find attached to this shrine the same story of a luminous gem, as in the shrine at Egmond; a large egg-shaped stone, placed above the grand cameo, was ever believed to give light in the hours of darkness; but Creuzer ascertained it to be no more than rock-crystal. It was famous in the middle ages, as the "Karfunkel" of Marburg.

The "Trésor de Conques," a secluded abbey in Auvergne, still preserves the most important monuments of Carolingian art in existence, dedicated there by Charlemagne. Here is the statuette of Sainte Foy, Virgin and Martyr, seated on a throne, with a Byzantine crown on her head, and large square pendants in her ears, richly set with gems, the whole in gold *repoussé*, 80 c. (32 in.) high. Also the A of Charlemagne, only survivor of the alphabet, one letter of which was presented to each of the principal abbeys of his time, framed of oak overlaid with silver gilt, 45 c. high, in form a triangle, with two verticals upon the base inside. In these, in the processional cross, and in the enameled phylacteries of the reliquaries, are set, amongst other stones, some sixty en-

graved gems and three camei, mostly of the Lower Empire. The most curious are, a large sard, "a head of Caracalla, very coarse work; a seated Isis, on a large "tourmaline"; and, most singular of all, an amethyst intaglio, a man, his head in front face, in a pleated robe, standing, in each hand a long foliated cross, precisely the type of a Carolingian denier, legend, **CARN**. The *Annales Archéologiques* for 1860 give many plates of the figures, and all the engraved stones.

Amongst the "*Vesselle de Chapelle*" of Louis, Duc d'Anjou, according to the inventory drawn up about 1365, we find some instructive instances of this employment of camei. No. 23, "Un tableau d'argent doré, semé par dedenz de esmeraudes granz et petites, balaiz granz et petiz, *camahieus* granz et petiz, et menues perles grant quantité. Et ou milieu dudit tableau a un très grant *camahieu vermeil*, ou quel a Nostre Dame gisant Nostre Seigneur en la cresche, et les angeles tout entour, et dessouz a Nostre Dame qui baigne son enfant, et derriere elle a Saint Josef seant. Et sient le dit tableau sur un souage qui est semé de esmeraudes, de rubis d'Alisandre et de petites perles," &c. This cameo, with its figures in red relief, "*vermeil*," abounds too much in figures, although interpreted as angels, and is altogether too elaborate a composition for a Byzantine Christian work, as the minute description of the subject at first would tempt one to conclude. Doubtless it was antique, and represented that favorite theme of the Roman artists, the education of Bacchus. The good monk who drew up the inventory for Louis saw in the nymph Leucothea the Virgin Mary; in the attendant genii, so many sportive angels; and in the seated Silenus, that ever-present actor in the history of Bacchus, the patriarchal-looking Joseph.

No. 25 is "Une crois longue et grelle d'argent doré, et y est Nostre Seigneur en la dicte crois tout estandu; et est l'arbre d'icelle crois semé de perles et de pierrerie. Et a ou bout du bras de la crois par en haut un *camahieu* ouquel a ij. chevaux qui menent un chariot, e les mene un home. Et es ij. boux des travers de la crois a ij. testes d'omme, et est l'une blanche et l'autre vermeille. Et ou bout d'icelle crois a un autre *camahieu* ou quel a une femme quise siet en une chaire."

The following extract from the *Trésor de S. Denys* is extremely valuable, since it describes a most elaborate

specimen of Carlovingian metal-work, as well as the manner in which remarkable engraved stones continued to retain their primary estimation, although for reasons totally diverse—for the aqua-marine here mentioned is the celebrated *Julia Titi*, the work of Evodus; the “gem of King David” is a lump of antique *schmelze* paste, of which I have seen specimens exhibiting the same odd transition of colors on the change of light:—

“Un très riche joyau et très précieux reliquaire nommé l’escrain de Charlemagne à cause qu’il a jadis servy à la chapelle de ce saint empereur. Cette rare piece est en façon de tableau, composée de trois estages d’or, enrichie de grand nombre de pierres precieuses, comme d’aigues marines, saphirs, esmeraudes, cassidoines, rubis, grénats, et de tres belles perles orientales toutes enchassées en or. Entre ces pierreries il y en a une admirable large comme un douzain de France, taillée en ovale et enchassée en or comme les autres, laquelle, estant posée sur la paulme de la main ou sur quelque autre lieu plat, paroist verte, et levée au jour elle semble estre de couleur de pourpre. Elle a autrefois servy au grand Roy David, comme il appert par les lettres, burinées sur l’enchaussure que disent—‘Hic lapis fuit Davidis regis et prophetæ.’

“Sur la faisse de cet escrain ou buffet d’honneur on voit une aigue marine des plus belles, sur laquelle est représentée en *demy-relief* l’effigie de Cleopatre, Royne d’Egypte, ou selon aucuns de la princesse Julia, fille de l’Empereur Tite; pièce très rare et admirée de tous ceux qui la voyent. Autour de cette effigie sont gravés ces deux mots Grecs—**ΕΥΘΑΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.**”⁸

“Un excellent camahieu d’agate blanche sur laquelle est relevée la face d’une femme couronnée, qui est l’effigie de la *Royne de Saba*, laquelle se transporta de son royaume en Jerusalem pour y voir le Roy Solomon et ouyr sa sapience, comme dict l’Ecriture Sainte (3 Reg. 10). Cette pièce est très antique et digne de remarque. Elle est enchassée en argent doré et enrichie de plusieurs pierres précieuses.”⁹

The Trésor also boasted of important examples of imperial “onychina et murrhina,” now dedicated to the service of the altar; *e. g.*:—

⁸ Trésor de S. Denys, p. 102.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 124.

“Un calice très exquis fait d’une très belle agathe, gaude-ronné par dehors, admirable pour la beauté et variété des couleurs que s’y sont trouvées naturellement esparses ça et là en façon de papier marbré,” a comparison aptly, though undesignedly, illustrating Pliny’s description of the *Murrhina*.

“Une autre gondole de crysolite très exquise, couleur de verd de mer : le pied et la bordure garnis d’or et enrichis de saphirs, grénats, prismes d’esmeraudes, et de soixante et dix perles orientales. Cette pièce est grandement estimée par ceux qui se connoissent en pierreries. Elle fut jadis engagée par le Roy Louis le Gros (1108—1137) et desengagée de son consentement par l’Abbé Suger, qui en paya 60 marcs d’argent, grande somme pour ces temps là. Elle a esté faite ou du moins garnie par Sainct Eloy, comme le mesme Suger asseure au livre de ses gestes. ‘Quod vas’ (dit il, parlant de cette gondole) ‘tam pro pretiosa lapidis qualitate quam integra sui quantitate mirificum, inclusorio Sancti Eligii opere constat esse ornatum; quod omnium artificum judicio pretiosissimum æstimatur.’”

In the cathedral of Brunswick is still shown a singular adaptation of antique jewels to the decoration of a reliquary ; it is the arm of St. Blaize, brought from Palestine by Henry the Lion in the eleventh century, encased in silver, on the fingers of which are no less than fourteen rings.

Numerous “Lapidaria” are extant, both in MS. and in the collection published by Camillo Leonardo in 1502 (ascribed to Solomon, Chael, Ragiël, and Rabanus Maurus), minutely describing the virtues of the different figures engraved on gems. Nonsensical as are their explanations of the designs and of their deductions thence, these doctrines were firmly believed during the middle ages. The mode of expression occasionally used makes the reader more than suspect that the compilers of these guides mistook (like the Marburghers above mentioned) the engravings upon the stones for the actual work of nature, so completely had all knowledge of this art perished.

In the Patent Roll 51 Henry III. (A.D. 1266—67) a list has been preserved of jewels collected by that king for the enrichment of the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. Some may have been obtained at Rome by the Abbot of Westminster, Richard de Ware, who was sent Italy at that time, and brought over Peter, “civis

Romanus," by whom the basement of the shrine was constructed, ornamented with glass mosaic and marbles, and upon this was placed the golden jeweled feretory wrought by two goldsmiths of London, Fitz-Otho and Edward his son. The entry on the Patent Roll, from which the following particulars regarding this shrine are derived, enumerates the costly provision made by Henry III.—"*Lapides pretiosos et jocalia deputata casse sive feretro in quo corpus beatissimi Edwardi Regis disposuimus collocari.*"¹

"*Firmaculum cum camauto in medio...anulus cum saphiro inciso*²...*baculus continens vij. anulos cum chamahutis parvis...pulchrum chamahutum cum imaginibus filiorum Jacobi in capsula aurea cum rubetis et smaragdinibus in circumferentia...camahutum cum tribus imaginibus in capsula aurea*³...*camahutum cum imaginibus Moysis et serpentis*" (*Esculapius*?) "...*camahutum cum magno capite...chamahutum cum curru et equitibus...chamahutum cum imagine in medio...chamahutum cum imagine regis...chamahutum optimum cum ij. albis imaginibus...chamahutum cum imagine leonis...chamahutum cum duabus imaginibus et arbore...chamahutum cum capite elevato...chamahutum cum ij. capitibus...chamahutum cum imagine beate Marie...chamahutum cum capite duplicato...magna perla ad modum chamahuti...chamahutum cum aquila...*"

The list continues with a further enumeration of camei thus described—"cum ij. angelis...cum ymagine alba...cum capite albo...cum capite bene crinato...chamahutum album cum imagine mulieris cum puero et dracone" (*Ceres and Triptolemus*?) "...chamahutum cum equo...cum capite et leone opposito in capsula aurea ad modum crucis...cum capite albo barbato...in capsula aurea ad modum crucis cum bove...cum imagine alba cum magestate ex parte alba"⁴...*chamahutum in capsula aurea ad modum targie...cum ij. capitibus albis...cum laticibus (lynceibus?) et curru...cum cane...cum capite barbato...chamahutum cristallinum cum capite...cum capite ruffo*⁵...*cum capite bipertito*" (*Janus*?) "crinato...cum

¹ Extracted from Canon Rock's invaluable repertory of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, the "Church of Our Fathers," vol. iii. part 1, p. 393.

² Mention is made of a second ring "cum saphiro inciso."

³ In each case, in the following items,

the "camahutum," is described as "in capsula aurea," or "in capsula auri."

⁴ Other camei are mentioned "cum magestate," i. e., God the Father (a Serapis, or Jupiter possibly?).

⁵ This description occurs again in other instances.

leone...j. chamahutum in anulo pontificali." The number of camei is in all not less than eighty-five.

Amongst precious stones the following are enumerated; each is described as "in capsâ aurea," or "in capsâ argenti."—"Onicleus—saphirus—citrinus—amatista—prasina—canis onicleus—phiola oniclea et alia cristallina—balesii—minute prasine in una chinchia—perle in una chinchia,"⁶ &c. "Saphirus *crinitus* in capsâ aurea" may have been an asteria sapphire. We find also "ij. panchii calcidonii," probably for *panchri* (Pliny), multicolored; also "decem cokille et unum album capud;" these cokille, *coquilles*, were possibly disks of mother-o'-pearl, at that time accounted very precious, and of which numerous examples are to be seen on the Gothic crowns found at Guarrazar, and now preserved at Paris in the Musée des Thermes.⁷ They occur also on the Marburg shrine, and on the crown of Queen Theodelinda at Monza noticed by Mr. Burges in this Journal.⁸ Theophilus alludes to the use of mother-o'-pearl in goldsmiths' work.⁹ The expression "capite elevato," repeatedly occurring in the foregoing list of camei, clearly signifies work in very high relief, or more than mezzo-relievo. The "capita oniclea" I suppose to have been heads carved *en ronde bosse*.

The feretrum was furthermore enriched by Henry III. with images representing St. Peter trampling upon Nero, St. Edmund, and other regal personages, set with precious stones, emeralds, sapphires, "balesiis, granatis, rubettis," &c. I may refer to the Patent Roll, as cited by Canon Rock, for more full details.

The following item claims notice:—"unum magnum chamahutum in capsâ aurea cum cathena aurea," valued at the enormous price of 200*l.*, equal to about 4000*l.* at the present time.

This shrine may be supposed to have remained intact down to the time of the suppression of the monastery. All the valuable portion would then have been confiscated for the king's

⁶ This term here occurs repeatedly; it is somewhat obscure; the glossaries give *chinchilla* (whence Fr. *quincaillerie*), or *chinsica*, reconditorium, apotheca, &c. In old French *chinsche* signifies a piece of cloth, *chiffon*, in which possibly the jewels may have been wrapped up.

⁷ Catalogue des Objets d'Art, &c., exposés au Musée des Thermes, pp. 355, 357, edit. 1854.

⁸ Arch. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 14.

⁹ Theophilus, lib. iii. c. 35. "Securatur chonche marine per partes et inde linantur margarite."

use, as is recorded in the case of the Canterbury shrine, of which the spoils in gold and jewels filled two chests, that required six or eight strong men, according to Stow, to carry each chest out of the church. Henry VIII. being a man of taste and a particular admirer of camei, as would appear from the number of fine ones with his portrait still extant, the antique gems in this grand acquisition must have been highly appreciated by him, and very probably were added to his other numerous treasures of art. Hence it may be a question whether some of those now in the Royal Collection may not descend from this source; something tangible might be ascertained by comparing their subjects with those described in the above list.

ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED AT AVENCHES, THE CHIEF CITY OF THE HELVETII.

From Notes communicated by DR. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society
of Antiquaries of Zürich, Hon. Member of the Archaeological Institute.

IN a former volume of this Journal an account was given of a relic of unusual rarity found at Avenches or Wifflisburg, in the Canton de Vaud, namely, a bronze die for striking Gaulish or Helvetian gold coins.¹ The vestiges of public buildings, such as a theatre, an amphitheatre, temples, and tessellated floors, with the numerous minor relics usually found on Roman sites, give ample evidence, as was before observed, of the wealth and splendor of the ancient *Aventicum*, in all probability the most important place in the country of the Helvetii. After the invasion of the Romans, it appears to have been the capital of Helvetia and a very prosperous city, especially in the time of Vespasian, who founded as it is believed a colony of Veterans, designated—"Colonia Pia Flavia Constans Emerita," as shown by certain inscribed monuments there brought to light. Amongst these there is one found some years since, which cannot fail to be regarded with particular interest by the English archaeologist as containing an allusion to one of the campaigns in Britain, and also to Claudius, whose expedition at the instance of the exiled Bericus forms so important a period in the subjugation of the Britons by the imperial legions. This inscription, commemorative of military distinctions conferred on a tribune of the fourth legion, the *hasta pura* and golden crown, is doubtless known to those who are familiar with the lapidary epigraphy of Switzerland. We may, however, be permitted to invite attention anew to so interesting a memorial, according to the reading given with the *lacunæ* supplied by the learned Mommsen.²

¹ Arch. Journ., vol. xix. p. 253.

² Inscript. Confœd. Helvet. Lat., ed. Theod. Mommsen, Mitth. d. Antiqu. Gesellsch. in Zürich, x. Band, p. 33, No.

179. Compare Orelli, &c. This inscription is now in the castle of Villars near Avenches.



Bronze Pen-case (theon calamaria) and Pen,
Found at Aventicum, in Switzerland.
(Orig. size).



O]IVL · C · F FAB · CAMILLO
 S]AC · AVG · MAG · TRIB · MIL
 L]EG · IIII · MACED · HAST · PVRA
 E]T · CORONA · AVREA · DONATO
 A] TI · CLAUDIO · CAESARE · AVG
 IT]ER · OVM · AB · EO · EVOCATVS
 I]N · BRITANNIA · MILITASSET
 C]OL · PIA · FLAVIA · CONSTANS
 EMERITA · HELVETIOR.

EX. D. D.

Portions of mosaic pavement, and numerous other valuable Roman relics have constantly been brought to light at Avenches. Under the direction of the active and intelligent conservator of the museum at that place, M. Caspari, recent excavations have been carried out with good results; foundations of dwellings have been disinterred; domestic implements, personal ornaments and other relics have been collected in great variety. M. Caspari relates in a short communication to the "Indicateur d'Histoire et d'Antiquités Suisses," that tessellated floors of large dimensions and in good preservation had been uncovered during the last year, and that Colonel Schairrer had presented to the museum at Avenches numerous antiquities found on his property within the area of the Roman city. He mentions particularly a fibula in form of a star, which seems to have been enameled, also several other personal ornaments, a bronze handle of elegant fashion to which is appended a ribbed vase of white glass; iron relics, tesserae ("marques de jeu") in bone and glass, iron *styli*, bronze pens for writing, and silver medals of Geta or Eliogabalus. A statuette of Jupiter, in bronze, and several other objects of value have likewise enriched the museum, which is well deserving of the examination of the archaeologist who may visit Switzerland.

Amongst minor relics found in the course of excavation lately made by Colonel Schairrer, the bronze pens ("plumes en cuivre") have been justly regarded by Dr. Keller as objects of special interest, no example of a Roman *calamus* of metal having previously been brought under his notice in the course of his accurate and extensive investigations. Ancient ornaments and implements of the Roman period have occurred, however, abundantly at the numerous sites of

Roman occupation in Switzerland, and many of these discoveries have enriched the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich, under Dr. Keller's intelligent direction.

We are indebted to the kindness of Dr. Keller for drawings of the bronze *calamus* with its case, both of which are here figured, found as above stated at *Aventicum*. The pen consists of a hollow tube formed of a thin plate of metal, the end adapted for writing being wider than the upper extremity, of which a portion has perished by oxidation, so that the length of the tube in its original state cannot be precisely ascertained. Inside the cleft extremity there are traces of gilding. The case (*calamarius* or *theca calamaria*), measures about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length (14 centim.), it is, like the pen, rather wider at one end than at the other. The bronze pen with the cleft point (*fissipes*, as designated by Ausonius), resembles in its fashion the metallic pens of our own times; it is similar to the *calami* figured in the Museo Borbonico, t. i. tav. xii., and by Grivaud de la Vincelle, Arts et Métiers des anciens, plates viii. ix. A pen-case has been described, as Dr. Keller informs us, by Martorelli,³ and the pen therein enclosed is noticed by that author as of metal. The ordinary reed, however, was probably the kind of pen most in use; it appears on various Roman remains, for example in a Pompeian painting, often copied, in which a double inkstand is seen with a *calamus* resting upon it.⁴ The best reeds, as we learn from Pliny, were obtained from Egypt and Cnidus.

In regard to the use of metallic pens in later times, Dr. Keller observed that he had stated erroneously, as he now believes, that the Irish scribes did not use pens of metal.⁵ It is certain that before the invention of printing bronze or brass pens were in use. Thus in the first edition of Cicero, printed by Fust at Mayence in 1465, the following statement is found in the colophon—"Hoc clarissimi M. T. Ciceronis opus Johannes Fust Moguntinus civis non atramento plumali canna neque aerea sed arte quadam perpulcra, Petri manu pueri mei feliciter effeci, finitum Anno M.CCCC.LXV."

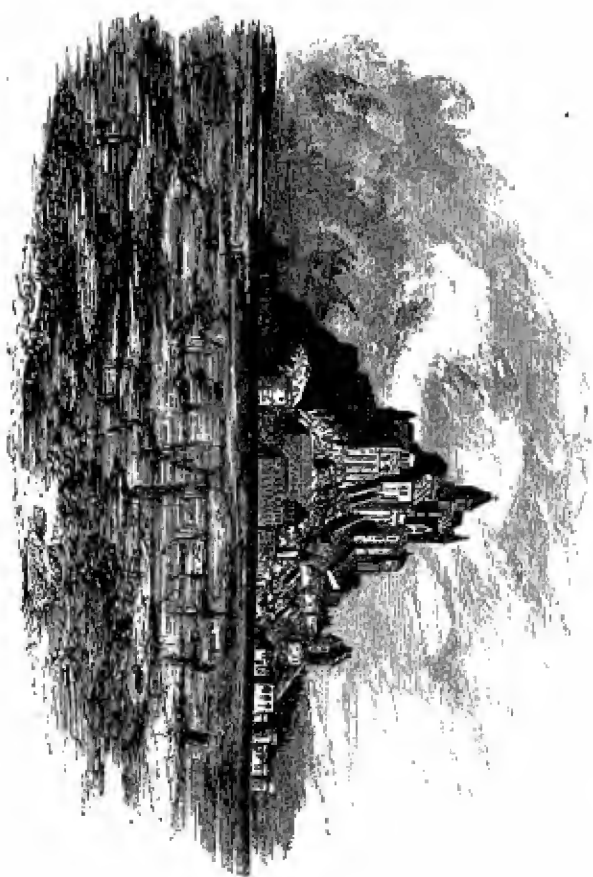
³ Martorelli, de regia theca calamaria; Neap. 4to. 1756.

⁴ Figured in Rich's Dictionary, v. *Arundo*. Of the use of reed pens in the Middle Ages, see the *Nouveau Traité de*

Diplom., t. i. p. 536; Wailly, *Éléments de Paléographie*, &c.

⁵ *Mittheilungen*, &c. of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, vol. vii. p. 70.





The Mont St. Michel.

From a Drawing by the Rev. J. KOBIS PETIT, F.R.S.

LES MICHELLETES: TWO LARGE ENGLISH CANNON OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRESERVED AT MONT ST. MICHEL IN NORMANDY.

From Notices communicated by BRIGADIER-GENERAL LEFROY, R.A., F.R.S., with diagrams and measurements taken by Professor POLE, F.R.S.¹

IN the remarkable series of dissertations by the Emperor of the French on subjects which the events of our times have invested with more than ordinary interest, namely the volumes entitled "*Etudes sur le passé et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*," allusion is made to "deux bombardes prises sur les Anglais au siège de Saint Michel en 1423, et qui sont encore actuellement dans cette ville."² A representation of these guns on a small scale is given by Colonel Favé, and a larger one, but by no means accurate, will be found in the "*Recueil des bouches à feu les plus remarquables*," by General Marion and Captain Martin de Brettes, pl. lxxxi. As we have no cannon in England of that early period whose date is so well established, the *Michelletes* at the Mont St. Michel possess, to the English military archæologist, a very peculiar interest. In point of size the larger of the two guns is little inferior to that "muckle-mouthed murtherer" Mons Meg, of whose history, however, nothing authentic is known before her first employment in 1489;³ it may be reasonably conjectured that, like her, they are the workmanship of those sturdy Flemish artizans who so early maintained their struggles for municipal independence by their superior mechanical skill.⁴

¹ See a more detailed account of Professor Pole's examination of these ancient cannon in a memoir by Gen. Lefroy, in the Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, vol. iv., from which by his kind permission the notices here given have been extracted.

² *Etudes*, &c., ouvrage continué à l'aide des notes de l'Empereur, par Favé, Colonel d'Artillerie, l'un de ses aides-de-camp; 1862, vol. iii. p. 119. The pre-

cise time is stated to have been "à la fin du mois d'Octobre, 1423." *Recueil*, Part ii. p. 3. This is, however, the date of the commencement of the siege, not of the end of it.

³ See Mr. Hewitt's *Memoir on Mons. Meg*, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. x. p. 25. That fine old bombard is figured among the woodcuts which accompany this memoir.

⁴ In the *Computus* of expenses of the Earl of Salisbury in the French wars,

The chronicle of Froissart, it is hardly necessary to say, does not extend to the year 1423; it is remarkable that Monstrelet, who relates the events of that year at some length, is silent as to the reverses of the English before Mont St. Michel, although he relates the attempt of the French to take Avranches by a *coup de main* in which they were unsuccessful.⁵ It might lead us to suppose that guns of 15 or even 19 inches calibre were not of such extreme rarity in the fifteenth century as to make their loss or their acquisition regarded as a matter of great importance, did not Richard Grafton assure us that such was not the case. The English had then, as they have usually had since, an advantage in the mechanical perfection of their artillery, and the capture must have been a notable event. Thus, speaking of the siege of "Mauns" (Le Mans) in 1424, he says:—"The Englishemen approched as nighe to the walles as they might without their losse and detriment, and shot against their walles great stones out of great Goonnes (whiche kinde of enginnes before that tyme was very little seene or hearde of in Fraunce), the strokes whereof so shaked, crushed, and riued the walles, that within fewe dayes the Citie was dispoyled of all her towres and outward defences. The citizens of Mauns much marveilyng at these newe orgaynes" gave up the town to their assailants.⁶ Even Holinshed, writing as near the time as we now are to the campaigns of Marlborough, did not regard this enterprise in Normandy as worthy of notice. Perhaps the brilliant appearance of the Maid of Orleans, four or five years later, eclipsed the minor events of the period, or the vital interest at stake in the heart of the French monarchy caused the border warfare to sink into comparative insignificance; whatever be the cause, no allusion to this siege of Mont St. Michel has been found in any English Chronicle, nor are

rendered after his untimely death at the siege of Orleans, in 1428, a payment of a thousand marks sterling appears to John Parker of "Chesthunte," for purveying cannon, balls of stone, carts, cables, and other necessaries for the said cannon, which may have been of Flemish manufacture. There is no indication whether the cannon were wrought in England. See Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars in France during the reign of Henry VI., vol. i. p. 407,

edited by the Rev. J. Stevenson; Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain, &c. The use of cannon for the defence of towns in the Low Countries dates from the middle of the fourteenth century; the huge cannon at Ghent, called *Deule Griete*, is said to have been used in 1382 by Philip Van Artevelde at the siege of Audenaerde.

⁵ Monstrelet, Chron., liv. ii. c. 13.

⁶ Grafton, Chronicles of England, London, 1569; 3 Hen. VI., p. 507.

there any particulars relating to the siege among the valuable letters and papers illustrative of the wars of Henry VI. in France, edited by the Rev. J. Stevenson for the *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain* now in course of publication. Fortunately, a local historian, the Abbé Desroches, has given the following interesting narrative of the events.⁷

It was, according to this writer, a period of frightful calamity. Attacks, surprises, and combats followed in rapid succession, the vanquished of to-day being often the victors of to-morrow. The country immediately around Mont St. Michel was more particularly the theatre of these exploits and disasters. Jean de Harcourt, count d'Aumale, made frequent excursions; one day he learnt that the English captain, "Jean de la Pole," had started from Normandy with two thousand five hundred men to pillage Anjou.⁸ Desirous of cutting off his retreat, d'Aumale summoned his fighting men from all parts; Jean de Lahaye, baron de Coulonces, brought a goodly company, and they were not long before they lighted upon the English who were in the act of driving off great herds of beeves. "Quand les batailles dudit comte d'Aumale et dudit la Poule Anglais," says a contemporary historian, "furent près l'une de l'autre comme un trait d'arc, les Anglais marchaient fort, et en marchant ils piquaient devant eux de gros paux . . . Il y eut de grandes vaillances d'armes faites, mais les dites Anglais ne purent soutenir le faix que leur baillaient les Français, et furent défaits et les chefs furent pris." Not long after the English set siege to Mont St. Michel by sea and land; this occurred towards the end of October, 1423. They drew on with formidable artillery and fifteen thousand men under the command of the "comte de Lescale" (Thomas, lord Scales).⁹ Their

⁷ *Histoire du Mont Saint Michel et de l'ancien diocèse d'Avranches*, par M. l'Abbé Desroches. Caen, 1839.

⁸ John de la Pole, as stated in a memoir by M. de Laroque on the Mont St. Michel (*Mém. de la Soc. des Antiqu. de Norm.*, 1826, p. lxxxiv.), was brother of the Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole. The Earl took an active part in the French wars of Henry V. and Henry VI. under the Earl of Salisbury, and, at the siege of Orleans in 6 Hen. VI. A.D. 1423, that nobleman having been slain by a "goon,"

as Grafton relates, the Earl of Suffolk was appointed captain of the siege by the Regent, Duke of Bedford.

⁹ Thomas, lord Scales, was retained by indenture 9 Hen. V. to serve the king in his wars in France with twenty men at arms and sixty archers, and he took active part in the campaigns of the following reign. In 3 Hen. VI. he was with the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk at the siege and taking of Le Mans and other towns and castles in France. Dugd. Bar., vol. i. p. 618.

siege works (*bastilles*) surrounded the place on the land side, and they had numerous small vessels of war on the sea side. At the tidings of danger menacing this important point, the soldiers of the counties of Avranches, Vire, Coutances, Valognes and Caen hurried to the defence, and Louis d'Estouteville was made governor. The first assault of the English preceded by a fierce cannonade was a failure; they were beaten off much discouraged, and beheld in superstitious fancy the Archangel Michael fighting in defence of the monks. Lord Scales next sought to try his fortune in a naval attack, and covered the bay with shipping. It is related that a hermit on the neighbouring Mont Tombelaine¹ gave him warning that, as often as the fleet menaced the Mont St. Michel, he beheld the Archangel stirring up storms to engulf the ships. The English commander paid no attention to these menaces; scarcely had his vessels taken their places around the Mount when a tempest scattered them, and the shore was strewn with wreck intermingled with the bodies of those who had perished.

Profiting by the eight days of neap-tide, during which the Mont St. Michel is approachable at all hours, the English recommenced the attack by land. Their batteries were ready by sunrise, two of their pieces were of prodigious calibre and threw stone balls of great size and weight. The walls of the lower part of the town were shattered, and the English precipitated themselves in assault with greater resolution than they had shown since the siege began, but the defence was no less vigorous than the attack. The ladders were capsized, the assailants were pitched into the ditch; they returned to the assault, replaced their ladders and succeeded in gaining the rampart. The carnage was frightful. The defenders, particularly the Sieur de Cantilly, Thomas de Brayeuse, and Guillaume Carbonel fought with desperation; they were, however, driven into the castle. Then the monks, trembling for liberty, united with their defenders and took part in the fray; the English seemed to multiply, and the abbey was on the point of falling into their hands, when the bravest of the knights, Jean de Guiton, Thomas de la Paluelle, Robert du Homme, Guillaume de Verdun,

¹ Tumba Beli, a twin islet about two miles distant, on which, as also on Mont St. Michel, it is supposed that there may have been an altar to Baal in the pagan

period. See a map of the bay of Mont St. Michel, *Memoires, Soc. des Antiqu. de Norm.*, vol. xiv.

and the Chevalier de Breuilly, forced their way through the combatants, broke the English ranks and reached the pennons which they threw under foot.

Then, according to the chronicler, did the English give way. In vain did their leader endeavor to hold them together—in vain did he set an example of gallantry—he was carried away in the crowd, and the rout became general. The baggage, military chest, the equipages, artillery, and the provisions, all fell into the hands of the garrison. Dejected by this reverse the English converted the siege into a blockade which lasted till April, 1424, when the Bretons, led by Guillaume de Montfort, Bishop of St. Mâlo, dispersed or sunk the shipping and threw succour into the Mount. Repulsed by sea and land, the English lost courage, but they did not cease to watch the fortress and look out for a chance of gaining it by surprise. They maintained troops in the neighbourhood at Genets and at Ardevon, where a *bastille* had been constructed; they rebuilt others at Servan and at Tanis, where the blockade was maintained, and frequent skirmishes took place.

"En ce temps," says a contemporary historian quoted by the Abbé Desroches, "ceux de la garnison dudit Mont saillaient souvent et presque tous les jours pour escarmoucher avec les Anglais, et y fesait-on de belles armes. Messire Jean de la Haye, baron de Coulonces, était lors en un château du bas Maine nommé Mayenne la Juhais, et allaient souvent de ses gens audit Mont St. Michel, et pareillement de ceux du Mont à Mayenne; ledit baron sceut la manière et l'état des Anglais, et fit savoir à ceux du Mont qu'ils saillissent un certain jour et livrassent grosse escarmouche au jour de vendredy, et qu'il y serait sans faute; et ainsi fut fait, car ledit de Coulonces partit de sa place avant le jour, accompagné de ceux de sa garnison qui chevauchèrent neuf à dix lieues; puis eux et leurs chevaux repurent assez légèrement, et après ils remontèrent à cheval en venant tout droit vers la place des Anglais; et cependant ceux du Mont, qui avaient bien espérance que ledit baron viendrait, saillirent pour escarmoucher et aussi firent les Anglais, et toujours Français saillaient de leur place et aussi fesaient Anglais de leur part, tellement que de deux à trois cents repoussèrent les Français jusque près du Mont: et lors environ deux heures après midi arrivèrent ledit baron de

Coulonces et sa compagnee, et se mit entre Ardevon et les Anglais tellement qu'ils eussent pu entrer en leur place pu . . . qu'ils n'eussent sans passer parmi les Français que avait ledit Coulonces. Finalement ceux du Mont et les autres Français chargèrent à coup sur les dits Anglais, lesquels se défendirent vaillamment, mais ils ne purent résister et furent défaits, et y en eut de deux cents à douze vingts de morts et de pris, et entre les autres y fut pris Messire Nicholas Burdet, Anglais : puis ledit baron de Coulonces et sa compagnee s'en retournèrent joyeux en sa place de Mayenne la Juhais."

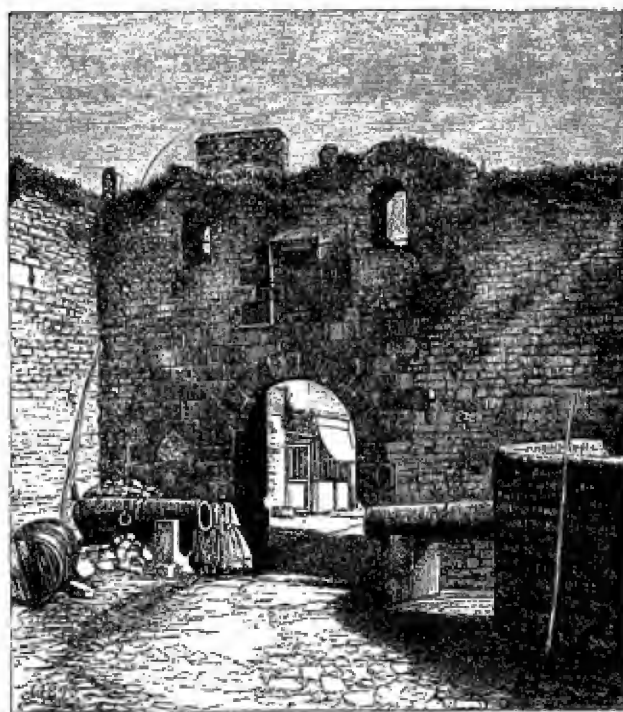
Here we have a distinct account of the disaster of the English. They were taken in rear by the baron of Coulonces, surprised, and routed; the time appears to have been not long subsequent to the end of April, 1424. They abandoned their *bastilles* of Ardevon, Servan, and Tanis, with another near the Bourg des Pas, and, losing hope of success, they retired, leaving a garrison on the Mont Tombelaine to annoy that of the Mont St. Michel. The gallant knights, says the Abbé, erected a memorable monument of their victory. They placed at the entrance gate on the Mount two enormous pieces of ordnance of which they had made themselves masters; these were formed, as described hereafter, of thick bars of iron bound by hoops of the same material.

Professor Pole, F.R.S., whose association with the Committee on Iron Defences has led him to take a warm interest in subjects relating to artillery, having proposed to spend his vacation in 1863 on the coast of Normandy, his attention was called by General Lefroy to these curious relics of ancient warfare, and with characteristic activity he forthwith proceeded to visit and examine them. By the assistance of M. Marquet, Director of the prison establishment at the Mont St. Michel, his researches were completely successful.² We are indebted to Mr. Pole for the following description of these remarkable specimens of wrought iron cannon at so early a period:—

² Professor Pole's graphic and spirited narrative of his explorations, and of the difficulties which he successfully encountered between the rival authorities on the Rock,—the maire of the little fishing village or *commune*, to which, as alleged, the guns belonged,—the commandant of the fortress—and M. Mar-

quet, the courteous "Directeur de la Maison Centrale de detention," will be found fully detailed in the Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution at Woolwich, vol. iv., from which as before stated we have been permitted to extract this curious account of *les Micheliettes*.

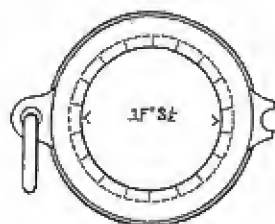
"The guns now stand in front of the second gate of the fortress, their general position being here shown (see wood-cut). They are in bad condition, being much corroded, the rust covering them in large flaky masses; this renders it difficult to obtain accurate dimensions, or to gather satisfactory details as to their construction. The particulars given, however, may be relied on, as I took them with all possible care. I found that each of the guns had a granite ball in



View of the Gateway and position of *les Michellottes*, from a Photograph taken in 1833.

the barrel, some distance down, which had been there beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and they had become firmly fixed by rust and dirt. To examine the interior it was necessary to draw the balls, as well as to clear the barrels of a mass of hard conglomerated rubbish that filled them behind the balls. It was not possible, in the time, to effect this latter operation perfectly, and therefore the dimensions of the small chamber may be somewhat uncertain. The two guns are of different sizes.

"The larger gun (fig. 1) is on the south side of the gate. It is 19 in. in calibre, and 12 ft. in length, of which the chamber composes more than one-fourth. The granite balls, of which several lie about, are about 18 in. in diameter.³ The general construction is evidently similar to that of the smaller gun, but the bars and hoops are not so distinctly



visible; the internal longitudinal bars are about 3 in. wide; the hoops are visible round the back end of the barrel. The breech-chamber piece consists externally of ten longitudinal bars, the construction being evidently similar to that of the smaller gun. The muzzle of the gun is somewhat ragged, and it has no projecting

rings like the small gun; possibly a piece may have been carried away. There are no eyes or rings; there is a trace of a projection where one of the eyes may have been, but I found nothing corresponding to it on the opposite side.

"The smaller gun is on the north or left-hand side of the gateway. The dimensions will be seen from the accompanying woodcut (fig. 2); it is 15 in. in calibre, and 11 ft. 9 in. in length. The granite ball is rough in shape, about $\frac{3}{4}$ or an inch less in diameter than the calibre. The construction of the barrel is clearly visible; it is formed of wrought-iron, being in fact a true 'built-up' gun. The inside is made up of longitudinal bars, each about $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide by 1 in. thick, and round the outside are seen the lines of hoops, each about $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, placed quite close to each other. It is not possible to discover whether the hooping is single, or in several layers. The exterior of the breech or powder-chamber consists, not of hoops, but of longitudinal bars, their flat surfaces giving to it the section of a polygon. This would seem exceedingly weak, but the longitudinal marks on the exterior are perfectly distinct, and there is not the slightest trace of hooping. The construction of this chamber and of the breech end of the barrel is obscure; I examined the parts as carefully as possible, but without gaining anything towards an explanation. The hoops are

³ One of these shot has been recently presented by M. Marquet to the Museum of Artillery at Woolwich.

distinct on the commencement of the barrel, and this made me suspect, before examining the interior, that the breech-piece was solid, and that the powder had been placed in the barrel, as in modern guns. But, on clearing the inside, the chamber appeared. The gun has an eye on each side for a ring; one of the rings, a split one, is still there, as shown in the woodcut; the other eye is broken, and the ring gone. The eyes appear to have formed one mass with the hoop encircling the gun at that place. The powder-chamber of this gun appears shallower than that of the larger one; it is, however, possible that the bottom may have become stopped up with some hard substance. The exterior of both guns is rough and irregular; this is doubtless caused to a great extent by rust, but I think that the surface must originally have been far from smooth and even. I cannot find any trace of a vent-hole in either gun.

"I estimate the present weight of the large gun as about $5\frac{1}{2}$ tons, and that of the small gun as about $3\frac{1}{4}$ tons. The granite ball for the large gun would probably weigh about 300 lbs.

"The Mont St. Michel is distant about 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the nearest coast, and the intervening sands are overflowed at high water, except at neap-tides. The besiegers cannot, I should think, have used the guns on the shore, but, as they succeeded in breaching the walls, they must have either fired them afloat or mounted them in battery on the sands. Tradition affirms the latter, and adds that, on the repulse of the English, the knights took possession of the guns and hoisted them high up on the rock, where they remained till 1793. In that turbulent year, it is said, the Revolutionists threw them down upon the sands again, and they lay there, washed by the sea, till about twenty or twenty-five years ago, when they were placed in their present position. I have been indebted to M. Marquet, the director of the Maison Centrale at Mont St. Michel, for the facilities given me in the examination of the guns."

THE obscurity of the transaction in which the *Michelletes* were lost and won induces us to annex extracts from two other writers, furnished to Professor Pole by M. Marquet. It is to be regretted that he had not been able to procure an extract from the contemporary Latin Chronicle

which is probably the foundation of all the accounts, and is said to exist in the public library at Avranches. It might explain certain puzzling discrepancies of date. Lehericher makes the siege last with intervals from 1423 to 1427, in which year he places the capture of the cannon, and he disconnects this event entirely from the successful surprise of the Baron de Coulonces. Girard brings the whole transaction down to the years 1433-4. The authority of the Abbé Desroches may be preferred, supported as it is by the authors of the *Études* and the *Recueil*. It is also the date given in the *Histoire Pittoresque*.

The following account is taken from "Avranchin Monumental et Historique," by Edouard Lehericher:—¹

"Cependant les Anglais s'étaient emparés de toute la Normandie, et avaient peu à peu resserré le cercle de leurs troupes autour du Mont St. Michel, le seul point de toute la province où flottait encore la bannière de France, et où l'indépendance nationale était vaillamment défendue par quelques moines et quelques chevaliers. Il fallait que ce Mont, si merveilleux en tout, offrît encore le rare spectacle d'une forteresse qui garde la nationalité quand tout le pays est conquis, foyer sacré où vit le feu qui remplira un jour les cœurs et les enflammera contre l'étranger. Les moines du Mont, se voyant sans pasteur et leurs gens de guerre sans capitaine, s'adressèrent au Dauphin, qui dirigeait les affaires dans la maladie de son père. Le prince envoya Jean d'Harcourt, comte d'Aumale, qui fut bien reçu des religieux, parce qu'il venait pour les défendre et parce qu'il promit de respecter leurs privilèges. Les Anglais avaient mis garnison sur Tombelaine, et avaient fortifié ce rocher de hautes et fortes murailles, sans que les soldats du Mont pussent les en empêcher, les trois rivières de la baie coulant alors entre les deux places. Nonobstant, se voyants toujours avoir du pire, ils redoublèrent leurs troupes, et firent le siège du Mont par terre et par mer, le roi insulaire y ayant envoyé un grand nombre de vaisseaux . . . du côté de la grève bastirent plusieurs forts et bastions, entre autres une bastille en la rive d'Ardevon et une dans la paroisse d'Espas. C'était en 1423. Le duc de Bretagne, craignant pour lui-même, fit armer secrètement dans le port de St Malo quelques navires par l'évêque et le sire de Beaufort, son amiral. Les Bretons, ayant cramponné les vaisseaux et combattants main à main, mirent la plus part des Anglais à mort et le reste en déroute, ce que voyants ceux du fort d'Ardevon se sauvèrent à la fuite. Le Mont fut ainsi ravitaillé et débloqué pour quelques jours. Mais les Anglais revinrent et se fortifièrent dans leurs bastilles; la guerre devint une guerre d'escarmouches dont les grèves étaient le théâtre. Un intéressant épisode de ce siège fut la défaite des Anglais pris entre les troupes du Mont et celles du baron de Coulonces qui venait de Mayenne. Un autre fut la victoire du comte d'Aumale et de Coulonces sur les Anglais qui faisaient une pointe sur l'Anjou. Mais les Français furent défaits à Verneuil par le duc de Bedford, et Jean d'Harcourt y resta parmi les morts. Son successeur, comme capitaine du Mont, fut Jean, bâtard d'Orléans, comte de Mortain, qui, ne pouvant venir lui-même, envoya au Mont Nicholas Saisnel son

¹ Many of the particulars in this narrative appear to be taken from a MS. at Avranches, No. 22, entitled "Histoire de la célèbre abbaye du Mont Saint Michel

au péril de la mer, recueillis des anciens titres et chartres par Jean Huynes, qui la composa en 1638."

lieutenant. Le monastère était dans une telle détresse qu'il lui fallut engager son argehterie à Dinan et à Saint Malo. Cependant les Anglais attaquaient le Mont si furieusement qu'ils sembloient estre capables de l'ébranler. Le roi nomma en 1425, à la place du batârd d'Orléans, Louis d'Estouteville, illustre chevalier qui avait sacrifié, pour rester Français, la plus grande fortune de la Basse-Normandie. Une de ses premières mesures fut d'empêcher les femmes et les enfans de se réfugier dans l'abbaye pendant les assauts, et de transporter ailleurs les prisonniers de guerre, débarrassant ainsi une place affamée de bouches inutiles. Cependant les Anglais redoublaient d'efforts; la garnison de Tombelaine avait été renforcée et escarmouchait tous les jours contre les Michelistes. Ceux du Mont, se décidant à hasarder une sortie, furent assez heureux pour écraser les ennemis dans les grèves, peu desquels se garantirent de la mort ou de la prison, ce qui arriva vers la feste de la Toussaint, 1425. Ce succès anima tellement les moines qu'ils engagèrent en Bretagne les croix, mitres, calices, &c. Une partie de l'argent servit à faire fortifier la ville: aux remparts de Rob. Jolivet on ajouta en cette année des tours entre les autres, des demi-lunes avec parapet et marches-coulis ou masacres; l'on fit aussi la porte de la ville ainsy qu'elle est à présent avec son pont-levis et le logis du dessus, une grande grille ou herse. Les religieux obtinrent du roi, en 1426, de battre monnaie pour l'espace de trois ans.

"L'année suivante, année glorieuse dans les fastes du Mont, la veille de la Saint Aubert, les Anglais vinrent au nombre de plus de vingt mille, sous la conduite de lord Scale, tous bien armés avec plusieurs machines espouvantables et divers engins de guerre; ayant observé le flux et le reflux de la mer, ils dressèrent une batterie si furieuse contre les murailles qu'ils y firent brèche, mais ils furent reçus si vertement par ceux du Mont, conduits par Louis d'Estouteville, qu'il demeura presque deux mille Anglois de tués dans les murailles et sur les grèves. Le peu qui s'échappa se refugia en leur bastille d'Ardevon, craignant qu'on allât leur y donner quelque aubade. . . . Cette victoire peut être comparée à celle de Josué, d'autant qu'il ne s'en trouva aucun du Mont ni de tué ni de blessé, ce qui fut attribué à la protection de S. Michel et aux mérites de S. Aubert. Il reste encore des trophées de cette victoire; ce sont les deux énormes canons, appelés les Michelettes, qui furent pris sur les Anglais. Cette victoire avait été remportée par Louis d'Estouteville et 119 chevaliers qui s'étaient jetés dans la place, et dont les noms furent inserits avec leurs armes dans le chœur de l'église en cette année 1427. Charles VII. envoya au Mont Dunois, pour complimenter les héros."

To this relation may be appended the following extract from the "Histoire Géologique, Archéologique et Pittoresque du Mont Saint Michel," by Fulgence Girard, p. 226:—

"Le Mont St. Michel jouissait depuis quelques années d'une sorte de trêve armée, qu'il devait moins à la protection de ses boulevarts qu'à la terreur dont avait frappé l'ennemi le succès de ses armes, lorsqu'un désastre inopiné éclata dans ses remparts, et vint ranimer les espérances des Anglais. Un incendie ayant réduit en cendres presque toute la ville, le lundi de la Quasimodo, 1433, l'ennemi pensa pouvoir, à la faveur de cette catastrophe, donner enfin satisfaction à sa vengeance. Sire d'Escalles prépara dès-lors un effort désespéré contre cette place. Une armée de 20,000 combattans se réunit sous ses ordres, et, traînant une artillerie

formidable, parut l'année 1434, le 17 Juin, sur les grèves ; son arrivée était calculée sur l'époque mensuelle des basses eaux. Ces épouvantables machines de guerre, dressées en batterie sur les grèves, ouvrirent bientôt contre les remparts un feu terrible ; ébranlées par le choc multiplié des boulets de granit vomis par ces pièces énormes, les murailles s'ouvrirent, croulèrent avec fracas. Encouragé par ce succès, l'ennemi s'élança avec audace à travers ces décombres ; les assiégés ne se jetèrent pas avec moins de résolution dans la brèche pour en défendre les abords et le passage. Le choc fut terrible. Les chevaliers Normands avaient à conserver quinze années de gloire ; les barons Anglais voulaient effacer vingt défaites par un succès. C'était un jour décisif pour les uns et pour les autres ; aussi l'assaut fut-il aussi impétueux que la défense fut héroïque. Aux pierres et aux flèches, qui se croisèrent d'abord de la grève et des remparts, succédèrent bientôt sur la brèche des armes plus terribles, la hache d'armes, l'épée et la lance entamèrent les boucliers et brisèrent les cuirasses. Une lutte corps à corps jette à ces décombres sa sanglante mêlée. Louis d'Estouteville et de Verdun électrisent leurs compagnons par les prodiges de leur courage ; l'exaltation de l'ennemi s'épuise en longs et vains efforts. En vain un de ses capitaines, la visière levée, s'efforce-t-il de pousser à l'assaut des forces nouvelles ; égorgés sur les remparts ou renversés sur les masses inférieures, les assaillans y jettent un désordre qui réparent quelque temps la voix et l'exemple des chefs : l'ennemi perd pied enfin, l'épouvante se met dans ses rangs. Les assiégés le pressent avec plus de fureur ; la confusion est à son comble, la terreur se généralise, chacun, jettant ses armes, ne songe plus qu'à fuir.

“ Un religieux, témoin de ces exploits, décrit ainsi cet assaut dans un fragment manuscrit rapporté par M. Desroches :—

“ ‘ Quel spectacle ! voilà que, sur la brèche, on combat corps à corps. Dieu des armées, défendez vos pauvres serviteurs. Notre gouverneur est entouré d'ennemis ; il se dégage et monte sur le troisième bastion ; il renverse tout ce qui lui résiste, et arrache les enseignes ennemies. L'épée de Guillaume de Verdun vole en éclats ; il s'arme d'une hache et porte des coups terribles. Avec quel courage aussi cet homme, couvert d'armes rouges, fait ranger aux pieds des murailles les troupes Anglaises ! l'épée haute et le visage découvert, il les anime et les ramène au combat. On précipite sur eux des pierres, des poutres, des rochers. Saint Michel combat pour nous : les ennemis sont repoussés. ’

“ Quelque étranger que soit ce morceau, par ses expressions, au style de cette époque, comme le texte a pu être traduit ou modifié par l'écrivain auquel nous l'empruntons, nous avons cru pouvoir le rapporter, en couvrant toute fois notre responsabilité par cette remarque.

“ Emporté par l'exaltation de la victoire, les Normands fondent sur l'ennemi, le poursuivent à travers ces grèves qu'ils couvrent de carnage, et le rejettent jusque dans ses bastilles. L'artillerie Anglaise, pièces énormes formées de lames de fer soudées et unies par des cercles de même métal, fut le monument de ce succès mémorable qui coûta 2000 soldats à l'armée insulaire. Cette attaque fut la dernière entreprise que tentèrent les Anglais contre le Mont Saint Michel. Découragés par cette défaite, ils se bornèrent à le surveiller par les garnisons de Tombelène et de leurs bastilles.”

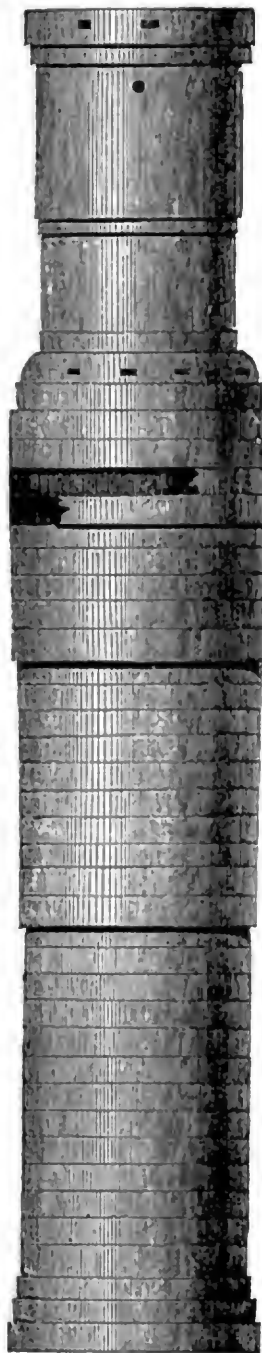
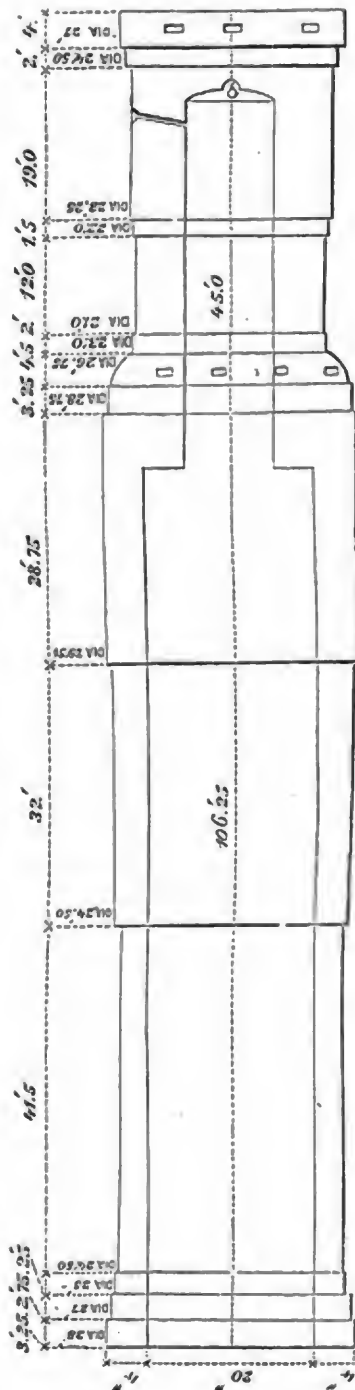
We are indebted to the memoir by General Lefroy, given in the Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution at Woolwich, and of which,

through his accustomed kindness, we have been permitted to avail ourselves, for the foregoing extracts. There are some notices of the history of the Mont St. Michel at the eventful period in question to which he has not adverted, and which may be acceptable as supplementary to his relation. The late M. de Gerville, one of the most erudite of antiquaries in Normandy, truly observed how extraordinary it is that the date of so memorable a siege, which occurred at no remote period from our times, should not be ascertainable with certainty. (*Mémoires, Antiqu. de Norm., 1827, tom. iv. p. 51.*) He declines, however, to enter upon the inquiry, and refers to a Memoir communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy by M. de Laroque, relating to the enterprises of the English in Normandy and the attack on the Mont St. Michel. His narrative, including a circumstantial account of the sanguinary defeat of the English by the count d'Aumale at la Broussinière in 1423, and of the subsequent siege of the fortress, seems in accordance with that cited by General Lefroy; he gives the close of October in that year as the time of the commencement of the siege, and the last days of March, or the beginning of April, 1424, as its termination. (*Mémoires, Antiqu. de Norm., 1827, tom. iii. p. lxxxiv.*) The English, M. de Laroque observes, having become masters of all Normandy, again appeared before the Mont St. Michel, and established a bastille at Ardevon, a league distant; it was demolished and the siege abandoned. Another unsuccessful attempt, he adds, seems to have been made in 1427.

We learn from the Memoir by M. de Gerville, above cited, that besides the two remarkable cannon which still exist at the gate, as described by Professor Pole, the defeated English abandoned many others of various calibres; of those pieces Thomas Le Roy states, in his "*Livre des curieuses recherches du Mont-Saint-Michel*," commenced in 1647, a MS. formerly in the abbey at that place and now in the library at Avranches, that he had seen several; the remainder had been sold in the sixteenth century by the commanders of the fortress. (*Mémoires, ut supra, p. 53.*) We would invite the notice of the antiquary who may desire to prosecute any further inquiries to M. de Gerville's detailed account of the MSS. at Avranches (*ibid. p. 23*), the most remarkable being those described by the historian de Thou, as formerly preserved at the Abbey of Mont St. Michel, and also of other authorities which may be consulted with advantage.

We are indebted to the Rev. J. L. Petit for the accompanying representation of the Mont St. Michel, from one of his skilful drawings engraved in his *Architectural Studies in France*, p. 160. It has been suggested that to some of our readers the comparison of the renowned bombard at Edinburgh Castle with those which, by the kind permission of General Lefroy, are now placed before them cannot fail to be acceptable; the woodcut formerly given with Mr. Hewitt's Memoir in this Journal, vol. x., is accordingly here reproduced.

ANCIENT ORDNANCE PRESERVED AT EDINBURGH CASTLE.



Scale bar: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET

Mons Meg. used at the siege of Dumbarton, 1499, and at Norham, 1497, in the reign of James IV., King of Scots.

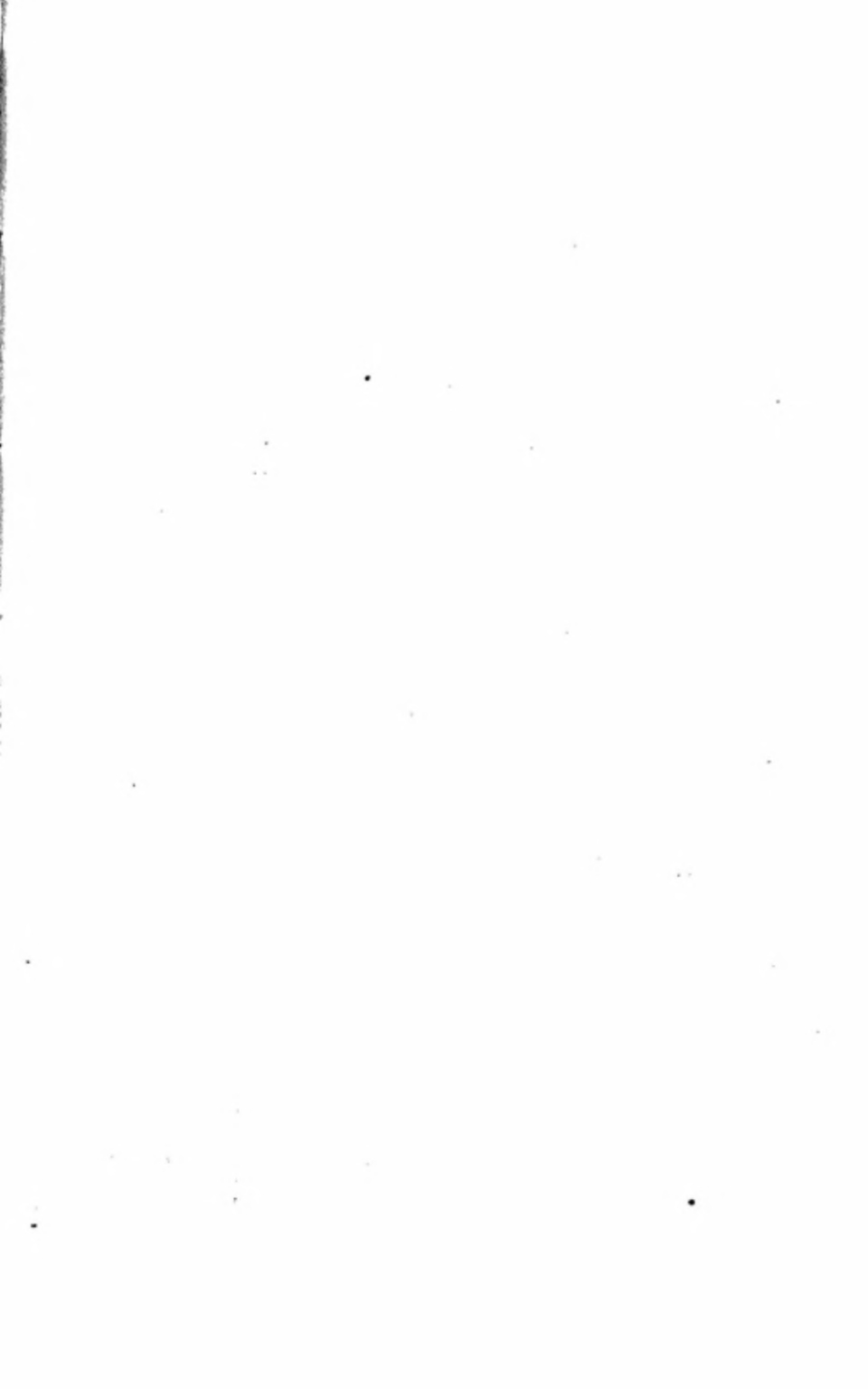
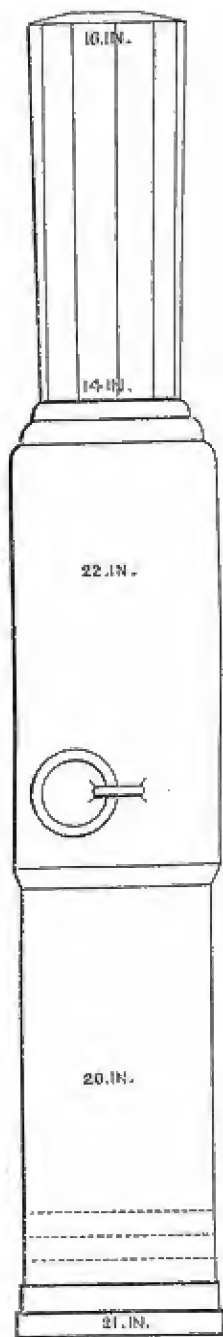
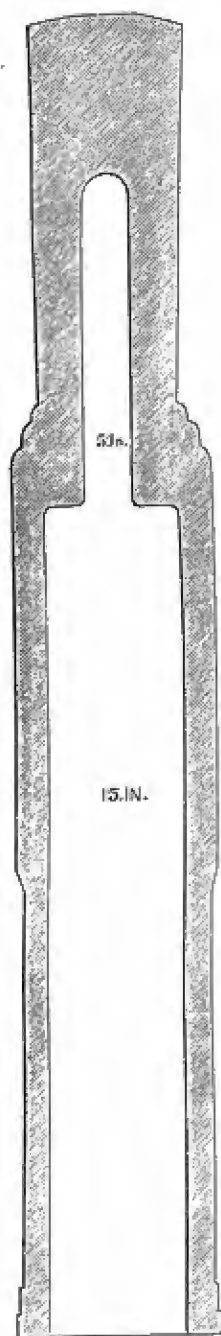


Fig. 11.



Ancient English Cannon at Mont St. Michel, in Normandy.

From measurements and diagrams by Professor Tolk, F.R.S.

Ancient English Cannon at Mont St. Michel, in Normandy.
 From measurements and diagrams by Professor Pole, F.R.S.

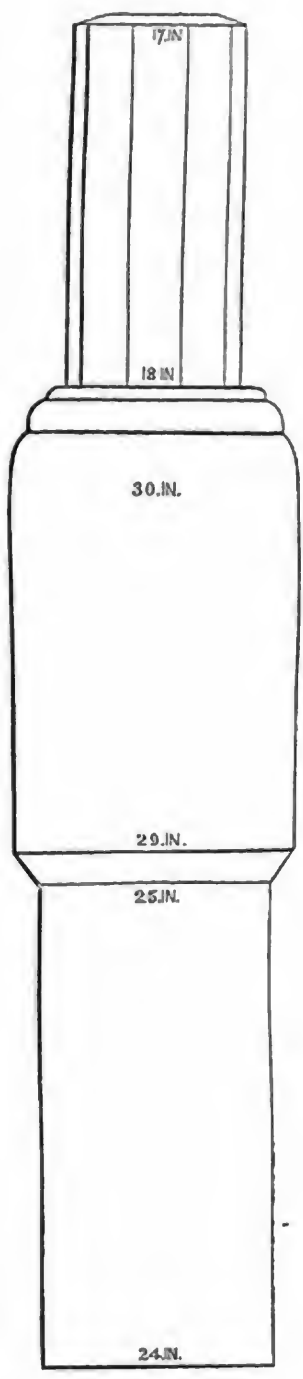
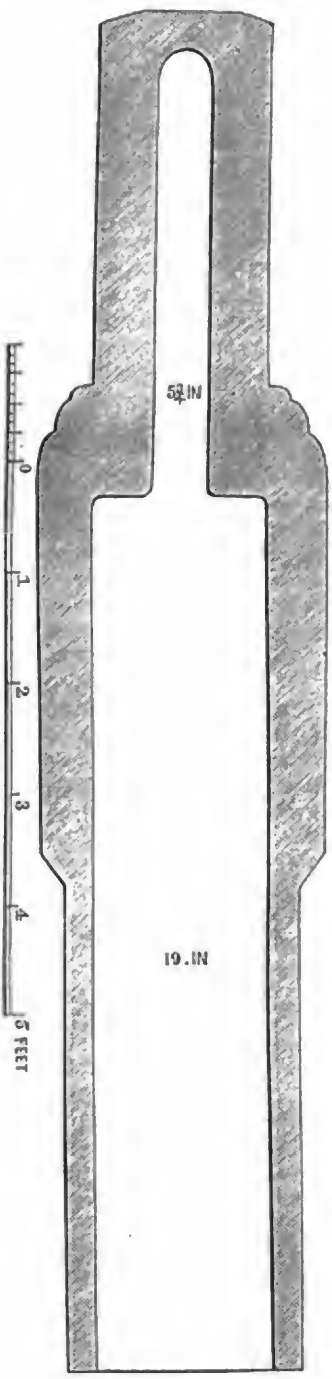


Fig. 1.

Original Documents.

BEING CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF READING ABBEY.

From the Muniments of the most Noble the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.

IN volume xx. of this Journal, p. 281, we published a series of royal documents, formerly belonging to Reading Abbey, and now among the muniments at Eaton Hall, to which our attention had been called by the kindness of Mr. Beaumont. We again avail ourselves of the courteous permission of the Marquis of Westminster to make a further selection from those interesting evidences. The first five of the following documents complete the royal series.

HENRY III. A.D. 1216—1272.

XIX. Writ for protection of the Abbot and Convent, their tenants, lands, and possessions for one year. Dated at Northampton 28th May, 50 Henr. III. (A.D. 1266).

Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod suscepimus in proteccionem et defensionem nostram dilectos nobis Abbatem et Conventum de Rading' homines terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsos Abbatem et Conventum homines terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas manuteneatis protegatis et defendatis, non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes injuriam molestiam dampnum aut gravamen; et si quid eis forisfactum fuerit id eis sine dilacione faciatis emendari. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes per unum annum duraturas. Teste me ipso apud Northt' xxviiij. die Maii anno regni nostri 1^o.

A seal was probably appended by a slip partially cut from the bottom of the parchment.

It will be remembered that the writ of protection here printed was granted at a very critical period, when much disorder prevailed throughout the country; although the barons had received a fatal check at Evesham during the previous summer, their faction was not crushed. Simon de Montfort the son was received at Northampton by Henry III., who offered him a pension on certain conditions, including the surrender of Kenilworth.

Simon, however, hastily withdrew from the court in February, 1266, and repairing to Winchilsea made himself formidable by bold enterprises at sea and by collecting troops in France. His threatened invasion was denounced by the king in a proclamation, which was tested at Northampton on May 18, as was also on May 12 the grant of the goods and merchandise of the citizens of London to prince Edward, as a penalty for the part which they had taken in the rebellion. (Rymer, vol. i., p. 468.) The scattered partisans of the barons took refuge in places difficult of approach, and for two years spread terror far and wide in the realm.

RICHARD II. A.D. 1377—1399.

XX. Inspecimus of divers proceedings relating to the liberties of the Abbot and Convent. Dated at Westminster 1st March, 13 Ric. II. (A.D. 1390).

It is doubtful whether any seal was ever appended, though an incision was made for a label.

HENRY VI. A.D. 1422—1461.

XXI. Inspecimus of divers proceedings relating to the liberties of the Abbot and Convent. Dated at Westminster 16th February, 19 Henr. VI. (A.D. 1441).

There is appended by a parchment label an impression on white wax of one of the great seals of Henry VI., in imperfect condition, being that which was formerly used by Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., the legend having been altered to adapt it to those several sovereigns. See Professor Willis' Memoir in the second volume of this Journal, pp. 27, 39. Three other seals appear to have been used by Henry VI. at different times.

XXII. General Pardon to the Abbot and Convent, with a proviso that it should not extend to any one of them concerned in the death of Adam Bishop of Chichester, or of William Bishop of Salisbury. Dated at Westminster 14th August, 30 Henr. VI. (A.D. 1452).

There is appended by a parchment label an imperfect impression on white wax of the same great seal which is appended to the inspecimus last mentioned.

XXIII. Precept to the Sheriff and Escheator of the county of Warwick for the observance of the liberties of the Abbot and Convent and their tenants of their vill of Rowington. Dated at Westminster 23rd April, 37 Henr. VI. (A.D. 1459).

A seal was probably appended by a slip partially cut from the bottom of the parchment.

XXIV. Confirmation, undated, by William Earl of Lincoln of the manor

and church of Easton, Herts, and of a hundred shillings per annum of land in Stanton, Oxfordshire, and the church of Stanton to the Abbey.

Notum sit presentibus et futuris omnibus ecclesiæ catholicæ filiis quod ego Willelmus comes Lincolnie concessi et per kartam meam confirmavi in perpetuum elemosinam Deo et ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Radingis et abbati et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus manerium meum de Estona in Hertforda schira cum terris et æcclesia et hominibus et omnibus rebus et consuetudinibus ad illud pertinentibus, quod regina Adelidis sponsa mea eis dedit pro anima nobilissimi regis Heinrici et pro salute et redemptione anime ipsius et mese et omnium parentum nostrorum tam vivorum quam defunctorum ;¹ et proter hoc centum solidas (sic) terræ in Stanton in Oxoneforda schira ad procuracionem conventus et religiosarum personarum illuc convenientium in termino anniversarii domini mei nobilissimi regis Heinrici ;² et insuper æcclesiam ejusdem villæ cum omnibus rebus eidem æcclesiæ pertinentibus ad continua luminaria ante corpus domini nostri Jhesu Christi et ante corpus nobilissimi regis Heinrici. Et volo atque precipio ut libere et honorifice et quiete teneant cum omnibus liberalibus consuetudinibus cum quibus idem nobilissimus rex Heinricus ea in dominio tenuit et regine dedit. Testibus Hermann capellano, et Radulfo capellano, et Rogerio capellano, et Magistro Serllone, et Houdone filio Alani, et Adelardo Flandr', et Gaufrido Tresgot, et Roberto de Calz, et Pag'n de Vilera, et Alano Pilot', et Willelmo de Guini (sic), et Willelmo Revel, et Milone Basset, et Nicholao de Asinis, et Rotardo camerario, et Reginaldo de Windlesores, et Morello³ de Merlei.

The seal lost ; it was apparently appended by a label of parchment.

The Earl of Lincoln here mentioned must have been William de Albini, since he speaks of Queen Adeliza as his wife, and there is no reason to suppose that she married any one but William de Albini after the death of Henry I.⁴ It appears that the earldom of Lincoln had become divided into two parts probably by a descent to coheirs, and for a while there were two Earls of Lincoln at the same time : one of them, Gilbert de Gant, died without issue male in 1156, and the other, William de Roumare, died some time before 1168 leaving an infant grandson his heir, who does not appear to have succeeded to the earldom or even to his grandfather's part of it. It is possible that some time after 1156 William de Albini may have been created Earl of Lincoln by Henry II., or invested with so much of the estates of the former Earls as to have occasioned him to have styled himself Earl, and that the title was soon after relinquished.

¹ The grant by Queen Adeliza of the manor of Eston or Aston, Herts, which had been settled upon her as part of her dower, has been printed in Dugd. Mon. Aug. vol. iv. p. 41, Caley's edit. This grant, made by her on the first anniversary of King Henry's death, was confirmed in the instrument above given, of which a transcript is preserved in Harl. MS. 1708, f. 95 b.

² A grant by Adeliza of a hundred

shillings per annum of land, and also of the church of Stanton, is printed in vol. xx. of this Journal, p. 287, being No. III. of the series of documents relating to Reading Abbey, here continued.

³ *Mauritio* was written first, under-pointed, and *Morello* interlined.

⁴ The fact of William de Albini having been called Earl of Lincoln in this document has already been noticed, Monast. Angl., Caley's edit., vol. iv. p. 29, note.

XXV. Grant, undated, by William de Albini the younger, Earl of Arundel, of land at Quiddenham, Norfolk, to the Abbey.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Albeni Comes Sussexie dedi Deo et ecclesie de Rading' unam marcatam redditus in Quiddenham, scilicet, terram quam Radulfus cognomento magnus tenet, in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam pro anima Regine Adelize matris meo et pro anima patris mei et Joc[elini] castellani avunculi mei et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et mea, ut inde fiat refectio conventui in anniversario Joc[elini] avunculi mei. Hiis testibus, Reinerio fratre meo, Gileberto de Norfolk, Ricardo Aguillon, Willelmo de Altaripa, Willelmo de Elne-tede.

The seal is lost ; the parchment label by which it was appended remains, the impression appears to have been on green wax, and the seal was of large size, probably the same hereafter described.

Endorsed—Carta Willelmi de Aubeni de redditu unius marce in Qddenham (sic). Est alia melior de eodem.

It is worthy of remark that in the above document and in that which follows William de Albini is styled Earl of Sussex, though his usual title was Earl of Arundel. William de Albini, his father, is called in 1153 Earl of Chichester (Rymer, vol. i. p. 18), and is so styled by his wife Adeliza in her grant of the church of Berkeley to this Abbey (Monast. Angl., Caley's edit., vol. iv., p. 42).⁵

Blomefield (Hist. Norf., vol. i. p. 338, 8vo edit.) mentions a grant to Ralf surnamed Magnus as made by the monks of Reading "conditionally, that he and his successors should for ever pay an annual rent of one mark for the health of his own, his ancestors, and successors souls, to make a good dinner or repast in that convent on his uncle Joceline's anniversary."

This Joceline was Joceline of Louvaine, the younger brother of Queen Adeliza, the mother of William de Albini the younger. He obtained, according to Dugdale, a grant of the Honor of Petworth from William de Albini the elder and Adeliza his wife, and married Agnes youngest daughter of William de Percy. He was Castellan of Arundel, as we learn from the Pipe Roll 14 Hen. II. cited by Dugdale, and from the cartulary of Lewes Priory, in which is found "Carta Joscelini castellani de Arundel reginæ Adelizæ fratris monasterio de S. Pancratio concessa de ecclesia do Budincatona." (Cott. MS. Nero, C. iii. f. 181.)⁶

⁵ Compare also his grants to Boxgrove Priory, Monast. Angl., Caley's edit., vol. iv. p. 645, Nos. I and II. It may be well to notice that in the heading of the first of these documents he is called Earl of Sussex, though in the grant called Earl of Chichester. No. III. is a grant by William Earl of Sussex, and is there supposed to be by the same earl, but he was

in fact his grandson the third earl.

⁶ Dugdale, Bar., vol. i. p. 271; Collins' Peerage, by Bridges, vol. ii. p. 239. Budincatona should seem to have been the place, in the parish of Bignor, Sussex, now called Burton, where, as appears by the above-mentioned charter, there was then a church. See Bacon's Liber Regis, p. 153.

XXVI. Grant, undated, by the same of the same land at Quiddenham with common of pasture, &c. to the Abbey.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Albeni Comes Sussexie dedi Deo et ecclesie de Rading' et monachis ibidem servientibus unam marcatam redditus in Quidenham, scilicet, totam terram quam Radulfus cognomento magnus tenet cum omnibus ad terram illam pertinentibus; dedi etiam eis communionem pastore et exitus in mea que circumjacet terra, ut sit terra quam eis dedi in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam et homines in ea manentes pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, ut inde fiat refectio conventui in anniversario Joe[elini] avunculi mei. Testibus Reinerio fratre meo, Gileberto de Norfolkhe, Willelmo de Alta ripa, Willelmo de Elnestede, Osberno Verrer, Roberto de Sacristia Rading', et multis aliis.

There is appended by a parchment label an imperfect impression on white wax of a circular seal, of which the diameter in its perfect state may have been about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; device, a figure of the earl of ungraceful design, long and attenuated, mounted on a heavy charger; the head of the figure is broken away, in the right hand is a sword upraised; a long shield protecting the body is charged with a lion rampant, the bearing of de Albini; the shield has a conical pointed boss in the centre, and the guige by which it is suspended is seen passing over the right shoulder; the skirt of the surcoat falls in long parallel folds; there appears to be a long maunch of very exaggerated proportions hanging from the wrist of the right arm, although the arm itself seems to be represented as in armour, the surface being trellised according to one of the conventional modes of representing chain-mail; before the figure there is an animal springing up towards the horse's head; this portion of the seal is somewhat imperfect, the animal may be a dragon or wyvern. Of the legend a few letters only can be decyphered—IGILLVM.⁷ On the reverse is an imperfect impression of a small round *secretum* or privy seal; diameter about eleven-twelfths of an inch; device, a lion passant retrogardant; legend, [SIG]ILLVM SECRETI.

XXVII. Quitelaim, undated, by Hugh de Chilpeet (probably for Kilpec) of the vill of Bradford, Herefordshire, to Roger Earl of Hereford, that the Earl might give the same to the Abbey.

Sciant omnes fideles sancte ecclesie quod ego Hugo de Chilpeet clamavi quietam de me et de omnibus heredibus meis in perpetuum villulam de Bradeford cum omnibus appendiciis suis Rogero comiti de Hereford ut det eam in perpetuum elemosinam ecclesie Sancte Marie de Radingis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus. Pro hac terra accepi escambium ab eodem comite secundum voluntatem meam, id est, Kingestun, quam predictus comes adquisivit de Rodberto Britone et eam mihi libere et quiete dedit propter terram predictam. Et ideo nichil juris clamabimus in ea nec ego nec heredes mei post me usque in sempiternum. Hujus rei testes sunt G[ilbertus] episcopus Herefordeusis, Radulfus decanus, Petrus

⁷ Compare this curious seal with that of Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, 1141-1156, figured in the Transactions

of the Institute, Lincoln Meeting, p. 264. The general resemblance of design is remarkable.

archidiaconus, Walterus archidiaconus, et Gillebertus cantor, cum toto capitulo Herefordie, Baderun de Munemue, Walterus de Clifford, Rodbertus de Candos, Henricus frater comitis, Herebertus de Castello Helgot, Ricardus de Cormeiles, Mauricius vicecomes, et de civibus Herefordie Herebertus filius Fucaldi, Rodbertus filius Walteri, Radulfus filius Iwein, et multi alii.

The seal lost ; it was appended by a parchment label. Across the label, immediately above the part where the seal had been affixed, is written an R with a line crossing the foot as is usual in the contraction for Regis ; it may, however, stand for Reading.

There is an endorsement as follows,—“Hugo de Clippcet de Brad.,” and another, probably by a later hand, which extended reads, “Manerium ac villula de Bradeforde Leominster in comitatu Hereford.” The date of this document, as inferable from the names of the witnesses, is about 1149.

XXVIII. Grant, undated, by Hugh de Mortimer of land in Stratfield, Berks, with his *viscera*, to the Abbey.

Sciunt omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Hugo de Mortuo mari pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Sancto Jacobo de Rading' et Abbati et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam totam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in Stretfelde quam recuperavi versus Simonem quondam Abbatem de Rading' per nomen concordie, videlicet, dimidiam virgatam terre quam Editha de la Thorne tenuit, et unam virgatam terre quam Bondi tenuit, et unam virgatam terre quam Adam de la Schete tenuit, et dimidiam virgatam terre quam Hugo Alfrieus tenuit, et totum pratum quod vocatur La Redmede cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, eum parte corporis mei, videlicet, eorde et visceribus meis ibidem sepeliendis. Et ego Hugo et heredes mei totam predictam terram cum pertinentiis suis predicto Abbati et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus warrantizabimus. Et ut hec mea donatio concessio et confirmatio rata et firma permaneat presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Illis testibus, Nichol' Capellano de Stratfelde, Philippo de Mortuo mari, Rogero de Burewardeleg', Willelmo de Neumeipille, Ada Costarde, et multis aliis.

The seal is lost ; it was appended by a small label.

There is an endorsement possibly contemporaneous with the grant, as follows,—“C. Hugonis junioris de Mortuomari.” This was probably Hugh de Mortimer, who died in November, 1227, and Philip de Mortimer, the witness, his half brother. The Abbot Simon mentioned in the grant as “quondam abbatem” died on Feb. 11, 1226. The grant was therefore in all probability made in 1226 or 1227.

XXIX. Grant, undated, by Richard Morin of certain lands and hereditaments, probably in Oxfordshire, with his body, to the Abbey.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Morin dedi et testamento legavi Deo et Beato Marie et Beatissimis Apostolis Johanni et Jacobo (sic) et Ecclesie Rading' corpus meum ibidem sepeliendum. Dedi etiam eum corpore meo Abbati Rading' et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus ex

consensu heredis mei pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum totam terram quam Ricardus Bertram tenuit de me et totam terram que fuit Rogeri Prudhume quam Willelmus Wuluriche tenuit de me, cum redditu et servicio illorum que mihi facere solebant et debuerunt cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Dedi etiam cum eodem corpore meo sexaginta acras terre arabilis que fuerunt de dominio meo, videlicet, triginta sex acras que jacent juxta Grimesdich quarum capita adjunguntur vie que vocatur Tuddingweie et extenduntur ab ipsa via versus occidentem; et sexdecim acras ex altera parte ejusdem vie versus orientem que extenduntur juxta eandem viam ab austro versus aquilonem; et octo acras propinquiores terre illi subitus versus hospitale que extenduntur a predicta via versus orientem. Dedi etiam eisdem simili modo duas acras prati in prato meo de Niweham in capite versus boream juxta Waldich bene mensuratas per legalem perticam. Insuper dedi eis et concessi duo mesuagia que Radulfus de Otterville et Robertus Portarius tenuerunt de me cum duabus acris ad predicta mesuagia pertinentibus que extenduntur a predictis mesuagiis versus pratum. Dedi etiam eisdem et concessi quod habeant unam carucatam boum in pastura ejusdem prati quodcumque pratum illud expositum fuerit bobus domini ejusdem ville ad pascendum, et in alia pastura pertinente ad eandem villam cum bobus et averiis domini ejusdem ville; et concessi quod quando araverint vel warattaverint (*sic*) vel rebinaverint predictas terras suas possint ducere et vertere carucas suas super terram prope jacentem absque impedimento gravamine vel molestia que eis ab aliquo fieri possit. Concessi etiam quod habeant liberum exitum eundi et redeundi super dominium meum ad terram suam et ad pratum quocienscumque opus habuerint sine aliquo impedimento vel vexatione. Preterea recognovi et reddidi et quietum clamavi dictis Abbati et monachis de Rading' omne jus quod dicebant se habere in aqua de Tamisia, videlicet, medietatem aque quantum terra mea durat versus Mungo Welle et versus pontem de Walengeforde, unde aliquando contentio fuit inter me et illos. Et insuper dedi eisdem et concessi aliam medietatem aque que jus meum erat et antecessorum meorum, ut totam illam aquam habeant liberam et quietam ab omni exactione et vexatione que eis inde fieri possit ab heredibus vel successoribus meis; et quocienscumque piscatores dictorum Abbatis et monachorum piscari voluerint in dicta aqua concessi quod possint trahere retia sua et ire et redire super pratum meum et heredum meorum libere et quiete absque aliqua calumpnia vel impedimento. Omnia autem predicta dedi et concessi cum corpore meo sicut predictum est et presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie Rading' et Abbati et Conventui ejusdem loci in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, habenda et tenenda dictis Abbati et monachis libero et quieto integre et plenarie et honorifice inperpetuum. Ego autem et heredes mei warrantabimus predictis monachis omnia predicta sicut liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam et adquietabimus eos de omnibus contra omnes homines et contra omnes feminas. Ut autem hec legatio et donacio mea firma sit stabilis et perpetua eam presenti cartha (*sic*) et sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Domino Ricardo Sarum Episcopo, Domino Johanne de Manemutha, Ricardo filio Domini Regis Johannis, Henrico de Scacario (*sic*), Waltero Foliot, Henrico Foliot, Roberto de Braci, Hugone de Colverdune, Johanne de Wikenholte, Gaufrido Marmion, Hugone de Bixe, Nicholao de Chauscia, Hugone Morin, Ricardo Bertram, Willelmo de Huntescumbe, Hugone Vinitario, Roberto filio Willelmi, et multis aliis.

The seal is lost; it appears to have been appended by a cord passed through three perforations at the bottom of the parchment. The date inferable from the witnesses' names should seem to be between 1217, when Richard Poore became Bishop of Salisbury, and 1226, when Richard, son of King John, was created Earl of Cornwall. We would call attention to the mention of the Grimes Dike, "Tuddingweie," and "Waldich."

There is an endorsement, possibly contemporary, as follows:—"C. legacionis Ricardi Morin de Niwenham." In all probability, all the lands comprised in the grant lay in Newnham Murren, adjoining Wallingford, and that the Hospital towards which a part abutted was the Hospital of St. John the Baptist near that town. See *Monast. Angl.*, Caley's edit., vol. vi. p. 754.

XXX. Grant, undated, by William Marshal Earl of Pembroke of land in Caversham, Oxfordshire, to the Abbey, in compensation of damage during the war, probably that of the Barons.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Marescallus Comes Pembrok' dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Rading' et Abbati et Conventui ejusdem loci pro decem marcatis terre in quibus eis tenebar pro dampnis et deperditis que habuerunt per me et meos in gwerra sexaginta et duodecim acras terre in bosco meo de Cavereham (sic),³ scilicet, totam terram illam cum vestitura bosci que per circuitum infra has metas subscriptas continetur, videlicet, ab Haselmere per circuitum de Haselmeredene versus aquilonem et de Haselmeredene usque ad croftam Willelmi fabri versus orientem et a crofta ejusdem Willelmi usque ad croftam Jordani filii Irenei et a crofta ipsius Jordani per Grimeshole versus Oselakemere et deinde per boscum meum iterum usque ad Haselmere, sicut terra illa mensurata et assignata fuit eidem Abbati et Monachis per Alanum de Hyda tunc Senescallum meum et per probos homines de visneto illo, et sicut per metas et bundas includitur; habendam et tenendam eidem Abbati et Monachis et eorum successoribus et ecclesie predictae de Rading' de me et heredibus meis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari servicio et exactione. Et ego et heredes mei totam terram predictam ipsi Abbati et Monachis et eorum successoribus contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum sicut liberam et puram elemosinam nostram. Et ut hec mea donatio concessio et warantizatio in perpetuum firma et stabilis permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei appositione munivi. Hiis testibus, Johanne Marescallo, Willelmo Crasso primogenito, Hamone Crasso, Henrico de Braibone, Waltero Foliot, Henrico de Seaccario, Alano de Engleff[eld], Roberto de Bergeff[eld], Alano de Hyda, Magistro Deodato, Magistro Roberto de Chinun, Magistro Jacobo de Cicestr', Nicholao de Chaus', Nicholao Pincerna, Waltero de Bathantone, Rogero de Cundicot', Johanne Bullue, et multis aliis.

The seal lost; it was appended by a plaited cord of crimson and white (or yellow?) silk.

The above-mentioned William Marshall was probably the younger, who died in 1231, having succeeded his father of the same name in the earldom

³ Sic. Doubtless Caversham.

of Pembroke in 1219. In the collection of muniments from which these documents have been selected is a letter from the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin to William Marshall the younger, requiring him to restore the possessions of the bishopric of Ferns in Ireland, under threat of excommunication, in pursuance of a brief of Pope Innocent III. dated in the 19th year of his pontificate (A.D. 1216). That letter has been published in the Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, vol. iv. N.S., p. 137.

XXXI. Grant, undated, by William de Longespee of forty shillings yearly rent in "Hentone" and "Scheperige," probably in Berkshire,* to the Abbey.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Lunghespeie dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesie beate Marie de Rading' et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus quadraginta solidos annui redditus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in crastino Sancti Martini percipiendos apud Hentone et Scheperige, videlicet, de domino Thoma le Blond et heredibus suis unam marcam, de domino Henrico de Mara et heredibus suis unam marcam, de Ricardo del Hech et heredibus suis unam marcam habendos et tenendos dictis monachis et eorum successoribus libere integra quieto pacifice in perpetuum, retentis michi et heredibus meis homagiis et aliis, si que fuerint, servitiis dictorum Thome Henrici Ricardi et heredum ipsorum. Hanc autem donationem concessionem et carte confirmationem tenemur ego et heredes mei dictis monachis et eorum successoribus contra omnes gentes tam Judeos quam Christianos in perpetuum warrantizare defendere et acquietare. Dedi etiam potestatem eisdem Abbati et monachis quod liceat eis sine omni contradiccione distringere predictos Thomam Henricum Ricardum et heredes suos, si aliquo tempore cessaverint a solutione predicta termino statuto, et namia sua fugare usque Witele prout carte ipsorum testantur. Teneor etiam ego Willelmus dictis monachis ad omnimodam securitatem de dictis quadraginta solidis quam Domini Regis Justiciarii vel alii viri discreti providerint faciendam. Et ut hec omnia firma et stabilia permaneant presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione feci communiri. Hiis testibus, Dominis Philippo Basset, Henrico de Mara, Willelmo de Englefeld, Everard' Le Tyeis, Rogero de la Hide, Roberto de Uffinton', militibus, Henrico del Estanc, Ricardo del Hek', Johanne Pipard, et aliis.

An imperfect impression of the seal of William de Longespee, on dark green wax, is appended by a label passed through a fold at the bottom of the parchment; it is of circular form, diam. $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; the device is an escutcheon charged with six lionsels, 3, 2, 1; legend, + SIGILLVM: WILL(ELMI: DE: LV)NGESPEIE.¹ The reverse bears an impression of his secretum of circular form, diam. 1 inch; the device is a sword sheathed, with the belt and buckle attached to the scabbard; legend, + SECRETVM WILLELMI LVNGESPE.² This seal is enclosed, as if for careful preservation, in a small piece of dark purple velvet lined with thin silken tissue.

* Monast. Angl., Caley's edit., vol. iv. p. 36.

Seals, pl. 11, fig. 1, p. 143.

¹ Figured in Bowles' Lacock Abbey,

² Figured in Bowles' Lacock Abbey, Seals, pl. 1, fig. 3, p. 147.

The above mentioned William Longespee was probably the younger of that name, who was slain at Massoura in 1250. Philip Basset, one of the witnesses, was most likely the second husband of his sister Ela. William Longespee the elder, Earl of Salisbury, died in 1226.

XXXII. Grant, undated, by Gilbert de Baseville of twenty-six pence yearly out of land in Lash Brook,³ Oxfordshire, to the Abbey.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Gilebertus de Baseville et heredes mei tenemur reddere Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Rading' et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus ad usus et sustentationes pauperum annuatim xxvj. denarios ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum; et ut dicti Monachi dictos xxvj. denarios annuos liberius et certius possint percipere ego Gilebertus atornavi pro me et heredibus meis Ricardum de fraxino et quicumque ei successerit (sic) de terra quam tenuit de nobis in Lechebroc ut ipse et ei succedentes in capite respondeant annuatim Elemosinario de Rading' qui pro tempore fuerit de predictis denariis ad terminum prenommatum. Et illi xxvj. denarii ipsi Ricardo et eidem succedentibus in redditu suo a nobis et heredibus nostris debite allocabuntur. Si vero dictus Ricardus et successores sui xxvj. denarios non solverint annuatim Elemosinario de Rading' concessi pro me et heredibus meis quod liceat Elemosinario de Rading' distringere dictum Ricardum et successores suos vel per catalla vel per tenementum ejus vel alio modo quo voluerit donec dicti xxvj. denarii plene solvantur. His testibus, Simone Vicario de Ssiplake, Joelo de Sancto Germano, Toma de Englefeld, Gileberto Warino, Hugone de Fuleford, Henrico clerico, Roberto Wille, et multis aliis.

There is appended by a parchment label an impression on white wax of a circular seal, diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; the device is an escutcheon of arms, barry of six a chevron; of the legend, which is imperfect, there remains + SIGILL I DE BASEVILE. On the back there is an impression of a secretum, probably from a gem set in silver, of pointed oval form, rather more than an inch in length; device an *agnus*; legend + ECCE AGNVS DEI (sic).

Judging from the handwriting, this document may be assigned to about the middle of the thirteenth century.⁴

XXXIII. Grant, undated, by Robert Pictor of twelve pence yearly rent to the Abbey.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus pictor de Rading' dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi ad altare ubi cotidie agitur servitium Sancte Marie de Rading' in puram et perpetuam elemosinam duodecim denarios annui redditus quos Walterus de la berne mihi singulis annis reddere consuevit ad festum Sancti Michaelis; habendos et tenendos

³ A hamlet in Oxfordshire, on the western bank of the Thames, adjacent to Shiplake, about a mile to the N.E. of Shiplake church.

⁴ A transcript of this document seems to be found in the Reading Chartulary, Cott. MS. Vesp. E. V. f. 33, b., "Carta de redditu apud Lecchebroch."

in perpetuum libere et quiete et in bona pace pro anima mea et Adelize uxoris mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum in perpetuum. Predictos vero duodecim denarios ego Robertus et assignati mei warrantizabimus procuratori altaris beate Marie in perpetuum. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata et stabilis in perpetuum perseveret presens scriptum sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Hugone Balatore, Giliberto Ruffo, Giliberto le Taillur, Alano portar', Roberto Wille, Nicholao de ponte, Thoma de Henleia, Daniele Wulvase, et multis aliis.

The seal is lost; it was appended by a parchment label. Judging from the handwriting this document may be assigned to about the middle of the thirteenth century.

XXXIV. Release, undated, by Nicholas de Stalle of a shop in Wallingford, Berkshire, to the Abbey.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Nicholaus de Stalle de Walingeford remisi et quietum clamavi Abbati et Conventui de Rading' totum jus meum et clamium quod habui vel habere potui in quadam selda, que fuit Ricardi capellani de La thele⁵ in parochia Sancte Marie in Walingeford, videlicet, que jacet inter mesuagium quod fuit Johannis le Ferun⁶ et mesuagium quod fuit Willelmi cepedeman,⁷ quam seldam habui de dono Matildis sororis dicti Ricardi capellani de La thele habendam et tenendam dictam seldam Abbati et Conventui libere et quiete integre bene et in bona pace ita quod nec ego Nicholaus nec heredes mei in posterum nichil juris in dicta selda vendicare poterimus. Et ut hec remissio et quieta clamantia rata et stabilis in perpetuum perseveret presentem cartam sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Alexandro Dublet tunc majoro de Walingeford, Symone Raven, Galfrido de La Wikes, Petro de Benham, Johanne le hine,⁸ Petro de La Wikes, Johanne de Walingeford clerico, et aliis.

There is appended by a parchment label an impression on dark green wax of a seal of oval form, length one inch; probably a gem set in silver: device an *agnus*; legend + s' NICHOLAI DE STALLIS.

Judging from the handwriting this document may be assigned to the same period as the last two.

A. W.

⁵ Theale is a chapelry in the parish of Tilehurst and Hundred of Theale, Berkshire.

⁶ *Ferron*, in old French, a blacksmith or worker in iron.

⁷ This name, it has been suggested, may have designated a dealer or chap-

man. In Octovian mention occurs of merchants coming to buy wares, "but ther ne chepede fro ne bonude all her chafure;" line 389.

⁸ A servant, Ang. Sax. *hinn*, *domesticus*; hine-man, a farmer.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

April 7, 1865.

Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. PURNELL stated that, in accordance with the desire that an expression of respectful condolence should be conveyed to the Duchess of Northumberland, on her recent most grievous bereavement, an address had been prepared and signed on behalf of the Society by the Marquis Camden.

Her Grace had with considerate kindness directed an acknowledgment to be sent to the President, in reply to this testimony of the heartfelt sympathy of the members of the Institute, on the loss of so generous a friend, the beneficent Patron of every high and intellectual purpose.

The CHAIRMAN observed that he could not refrain from adverting to the fresh and great loss sustained by the Institute, since their last assembly, in the painfully sudden death of Mr. Hartshorne, one of their oldest and most valued friends. On that recent occasion Mr. Hartshorne had most feelingly expressed the deep regret with which the decease of the lamented Duke of Northumberland must fill the hearts of all who had enjoyed intercourse with one to whose generous impulse science and archæology had been for many years indebted.

A communication by Professor ROLLESTON, M.D., was read, relating to vestiges lately found on the property of Sir George Bowyer, Bart., near Abingdon, and noticed at a previous meeting. See page 82, *ante*. From time to time human skeletons had been found in digging for gravel; a section of about 4 ft. in depth having lately been exposed, a layer of large rough stones was noticed, under about 2 ft. of ordinary mould. Encouraged by the suggestions of Mr. Akerman, now residing at Abingdon, Dr. Rolleston caused careful search to be made, and directed the removal of the large stones which had been left undisturbed by the gravel-diggers. Under the centre of the heap of stones was found, at a depth of about 8 ft., a layer of burnt matter, with woody fibre, supposed to be of oak; towards the outside of the heap traces of fire were distinct; the stones seemed to have been arranged round a pit in which the fire was made. Fragments of Romano-British pottery were noticed throughout the excavation; some of them, although lying far apart, fitted together; the vessels may have been broken intentionally, and the sherds thrown into the funeral pile. Bones of a dog, in size approaching to those of a wolf, were found, also those of large and small ruminants, but no human remains. The bones of a horse of large size were disinterred in their natural position respectively, showing that the animal had been interred in a perfect state at the time of the

supposed obsequies. These remains lay at the depth of 6 ft. surrounded by stones. The remarkable combination of cremation with unburnt animal remains deserves notice, as Dr. Rolleston observed, and also the occurrence of broken Roman *fecilia* throughout the deposit.

In the discussion which ensued, some suggestive remarks were made on the important aid which might be afforded to archæological inquiry and classification by a scientific examination of animal remains disinterred on British, Roman, and Saxon sites. In the investigation of the lake-habitations in Switzerland most interesting results had been attained through the assistance of a skilful comparative anatomist, Professor Rutimeyer, of Basle, and a well-classified collection had been formed, illustrative of the fauna of the remote age to which the "Pfahlbauten" may be ascribed. The hope was warmly expressed, that Professor Rolleston and other experienced comparative anatomists in our own country may be disposed to form collections, for which the spacious museum at Oxford would present great advantages, auxiliary to archæological researches and the history of earlier races by which the British Islands were successively occupied.

The Rev. HARRY M. SCARTH, prebendary of Wells, described a Roman kiln for firing pottery found at Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, in November, 1864. The site is not far distant from the Foss Way, between Bath and Ilchester. Drawings by Mrs. Beckett, showing the construction of the kiln, and the forms of various *fecilia* found near the spot, were sent for inspection. This curious relic of the industrial arts of the Romans bears much resemblance in its arrangements to those of other Roman kilns found in this country, and described by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. pl. xxxvii. See also Mr. Artis' account of the potteries at Castor, Northamptonshire, and Mr. Wright's "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," ch. vii. p. 209. Mr. Scarth's notices of the kiln lately found in Somersetshire will be given hereafter.

A memoir was then read by Mr. EDMUND OLDFIELD, F.S.A., relating to portraits of Edward IV., his queen, and the various branches of the royal lineage, formerly to be seen in the east window of the conventual church of Little Malvern Priory, Worcestershire. Drawings of two of the figures, namely, of Prince Edward, who succeeded as Edward V. in 1483, and the Princess Elizabeth, ultimately consort of Henry VII., were amongst the skilful fac-similes of painted glass executed by the late Mr. Winston, and recently exhibited by the Institute. These interesting royal portraits, of which a minute description has been reserved, when in more perfect condition, by the Worcestershire historian Habington, were placed in the window of the Priory church by John Alcock, bishop of Worcester, preceptor to the prince. The church was erected by that prelate in 1481. We hope hereafter to give Mr. Oldfield's memoir with representations of the two figures, which had attracted much attention during the late Exhibition. The fabric and also the east window are in a deplorable state of decay; some conservative care and repairs are urgently required.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. JAMES YATES, F.R.S.—*Metatarsus* of the red deer, with an implement made from a bone of that animal, found, in 1862, at a depth of 10 or 12 ft. in peat, near Walthamstow, Essex, with bones of the horse, ox, deer, &c. It is supposed that the implement found with these remains

may have been used in making and mending nets. These relics of an early period were sent for examination by Mr. T. Wetherell, of Highgate.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—The silver inscribed rim or setting in which an oval gem, probably, had been mounted, to serve as a privy seal or *secretum*. The aperture for this gem measures one inch by rather more than half an inch in diameter; the inscription around the rim is in bold capitals, such as commonly occur on seals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and reads as follows:— + NVL · NE · ME · VEIE : KI : NE ME : CREIE : There is a little ring or loop for suspension at the back, at the upper part of the oval rim. This object, found in Suffolk, may be assigned to the latter part of the thirteenth century; it was in the collection of Mr. Joseph Warren of Ixworth, by whom it was exhibited in the museum formed at the Meeting of the Institute at Cambridge in 1854.—Italian signet ring of silver, with an heraldic escutcheon; on the shoulders are the initials A. H. Date, fifteenth century.—Gold signet ring, found at Cromer, Norfolk; the device is a heart bearing the initials T. W. R. Date, about 1640.—Gold signet ring, found at St. Leonard's; the device is an heraldic escutcheon.

By Sir PHILIP DE GREY EGERTON, Bart., M.P.—A book of choral services, on vellum, with illuminated initial letters. The binding of this MS., which seems to have been written by an Italian scribe in the fifteenth century, is formed of portions of an old Italian coffer of cypress wood, of the early part of the sixteenth century.—Ivory brooch, very delicately sculptured.

By Mr. T. W. WHELAN, of Bury St. Edmunds.—The head of a pastoral staff, of ivory; on one side is sculptured the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin and two angels appear on the other.

By Mr. JACKSON, of Bury St. Edmunds, through Mr. Waterton.—A "globe posy-ring" of gold.—Silver heart, in which, being opened, a miniature portrait of Charles I. is seen.—Small silver locket, ornamented with fleurs de lys, and containing a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A dagger, probably found in the Thames; sixteenth century; forge-mark an S ensigned with an arched crown.—English dagger, seventeenth century; the cross-guard of horn, silver-mounted; the blade engraved, and bearing the initials G. R.—Spanner for a wheel-lock.—Also a pointed implement of doubtful use; the head is a flat disk, ornamented with radiating lines and circles in the intervals; it is wrought in somewhat similar fashion to the spanner. This object may have been intended to prick the cartridge for a cannon. It measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, diam. of the head, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.

By Mr. C. D. WAITE.—A fine medal of Michael le Tellier, Chancellor of France, 1677, one of the most distinguished statesmen in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.

May 5, 1865.

The Marquis CAMDEN, K.G., President, in the Chair.

A memoir by Mr. FRANK CALVERT was read, "On the site and remains of Cebrene in the Troad." Printed in this volume, p. 51.

The Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, of Durham, related the results of his examination of grave-hills in the North Riding of Yorkshire. His memoir will be found in this volume, p. 95.

Certain remarkable features in the interments investigated by Mr. Greenwell suggested the inference that the practice of cannibalism had existed in remote times in the British Islands. The expression of this opinion gave occasion for an animated discussion, in which Professor Westmacott, Canon Rock, Mr. Greaves, and other members present, took part. Some very obscure indications of such barbarous usages have doubtless occasionally occurred in the examination of early remains. The late Mr. Rhind related in his memoir on a Piet's House at Kettleburn, co. Caithness, in this *Journal*, vol. x. p. 216, the discovery of portions of a human skull and of bones under circumstances which had suggested the notion of anthropophagous habits in North Britain, of which certain indications had been previously suspected in the examination of a similar ancient dwelling near Kirkwall, as described in Barry's *History of Orkney*. Mr. Sprengel Greaves, Q.C., intimated his intention to give on some future occasion the results of further inquiry into this obscure question. The feeling of all present appeared to accord with that expressed by our lamented friend Mr. Rhind, that we "must not be hasty in stigmatising a people with the infamy of cannibalism except on the most unquestionable authority; nor would it be logical, far less would it be just, to accuse them of possessing so abominable an appetite on the evidence of one or two isolated facts which may have been purely accidental in their origin."¹

Mr. WALTER D. JEREMY communicated some particulars relating to a remarkable relic, a glass salver or dish, long preserved in the Library founded in 1715 by Dr. Daniel Williams, an eminent Presbyterian minister, in Red Cross Street, Cripplegate, and recently removed, in consequence of railway operations in the City, to Queen's Square, Bloomsbury.² The glass vessel in question, which through Mr. Jeremy's obliging permission was entrusted for exhibition, is a salver or shallow basin with a flat broad rim, on which there seem to have been some heraldic ornaments in colors, now almost effaced. The alleged history of this relic is thus related on a piece of vellum preserved with it:—"This Glass Bason, by Tradition, held the baptismal Water for the Christening of Elizabeth, Daughter of King Henry VIIth., the most renowned Protestant Queen of England. It was formerly in the possession of Simon Smith, Esq., who had been Harbinger to King Charles IIth., James IIth. and K. William IIIth.; and long after his Death the Person who marry'd his Nephew's Daughter, and who received the tradition from that Family as undoubtedly true, deposited it to remain for ever in this Library. Anno 1745.—Donum Domini Anderson." No further particulars, as Mr. Jeremy informs us, are to be found in the Minute Book of the trust of Dr. Williams's Library. The donor may have been Adam Anderson, managing clerk of the South Sea House, and a leading member of the Scottish Corporation in London; author of the "Historical Deduction of Trade," first published in 1764; he died in 1765. The Presbyterian divine, Dr. James Anderson, D.D., called familiarly "Bishop Anderson," was brother of Adam, and minister of a Scottish congregation in London; he is well known as the author of "Royal

¹ Arch. Journ., vol. x. p. 217.

² A short note of the existence of this salver, and the tradition of its having been used at the baptism of Queen Elizabeth, may be found, *Gent. Mag.*, 1800,

vol. lxx. part ii. p. 615. It is not mentioned in Mr. Cunningham's *Handbook*, but it is noticed by Mr. Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, p. 466.

Genealogies," 1732, and of the "History of the House of Ivery." He died in 1739, and could not therefore have been the donor, in 1745, of the object exhibited.

The glass dish measures $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and has a broad rim $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide; the height is 2 inches. It is of plain white glass of moderate quality, and uncertain manufacture. Mr. Franks observed that it may be Venetian, French, or even English. It has been decorated at the back with varnish-colors and gilding intended to be seen through the glass. There are no remains of decoration in the centre, the curved sides of the hollow of the dish have had four cruciform ornaments and flowers of four leaves, alternately. The rim has had four circular medallions, enclosing shields now almost effaced; on two of the shields Mr. Franks detected red, in a position which may possibly indicate that the charge was France and England quarterly. There was a beaded edging of gold around the rim. The date of the dish, in his opinion, cannot be earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, to whom it may have belonged, although the tradition by which it has been connected with her baptism seems questionable. A full account has been given by Hall and other chroniclers of the sumptuous ceremonial in the church of the Grey Friars, Greenwich, Sept. 10, 1533; the silver font was placed in the middle of the church, and, the baptism being by immersion, a closet with a fire was prepared lest the royal infant should take cold. All the details of the solemn rite may be seen in Hall's narrative; the precious gifts of the sponsors, Cranmer, the Duchess of Norfolk, and the Marchioness of Dorset, are described. It is obvious that such a vessel as the glass dish could not, as alleged, have "held the baptismal water for the christening." If used in the ceremony, it may have served as a *pelvis* for washing the hands. We are indebted to Canon Rock for pointing out its probable use on such an occasion. In blessing the water in the font, he remarked, holy oil is always mingled with it, and, as the sponsors took the baptized infant from the priest's hands after it had been dipped in the consecrated water, some of the oil might adhere to their hands; hence it was ordered "*ut sponsores lavent manus antequam de ecclesia egrediantur.*"³ The large dishes or chargers, of latten, frequently decorated with sacred devices, were probably used for the like purpose, and are sometimes designated by the term *Taufbecken*, baptism basin, in Germany.

Vessels of glass were very highly esteemed at the period to which the dish preserved in Dr. Williams's library is traditionally ascribed. In the inventory of valuable effects of Henry VIII. in the Palace of Westminster, in 1542, a list occurs of "Glasses and sondry other thinges of erthe," given in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 143. We find bottles or flagons, ewers, and layers (*lavoires*), bowls, standing-cups, goblets, cruses, candlesticks, dishes, and various other articles of glass, in some instances described as blue, of jasper color, green, wrought with diaper work, &c., with heraldic and gilded decorations also, as on the specimen exhibited by Mr. Jeremy. Amongst the items are—"Oone bason and oone leyer of blewe glasse partely gilt, the leyer having the Kinges armes gilt upon it.—Item, nyne spice plates of grene and blewe glasse, great and smale, iij. of them being

³ Salisbury Manual, MS. fifteenth century, cited by Canon Rock, and also the following rubric in a French ritual:—

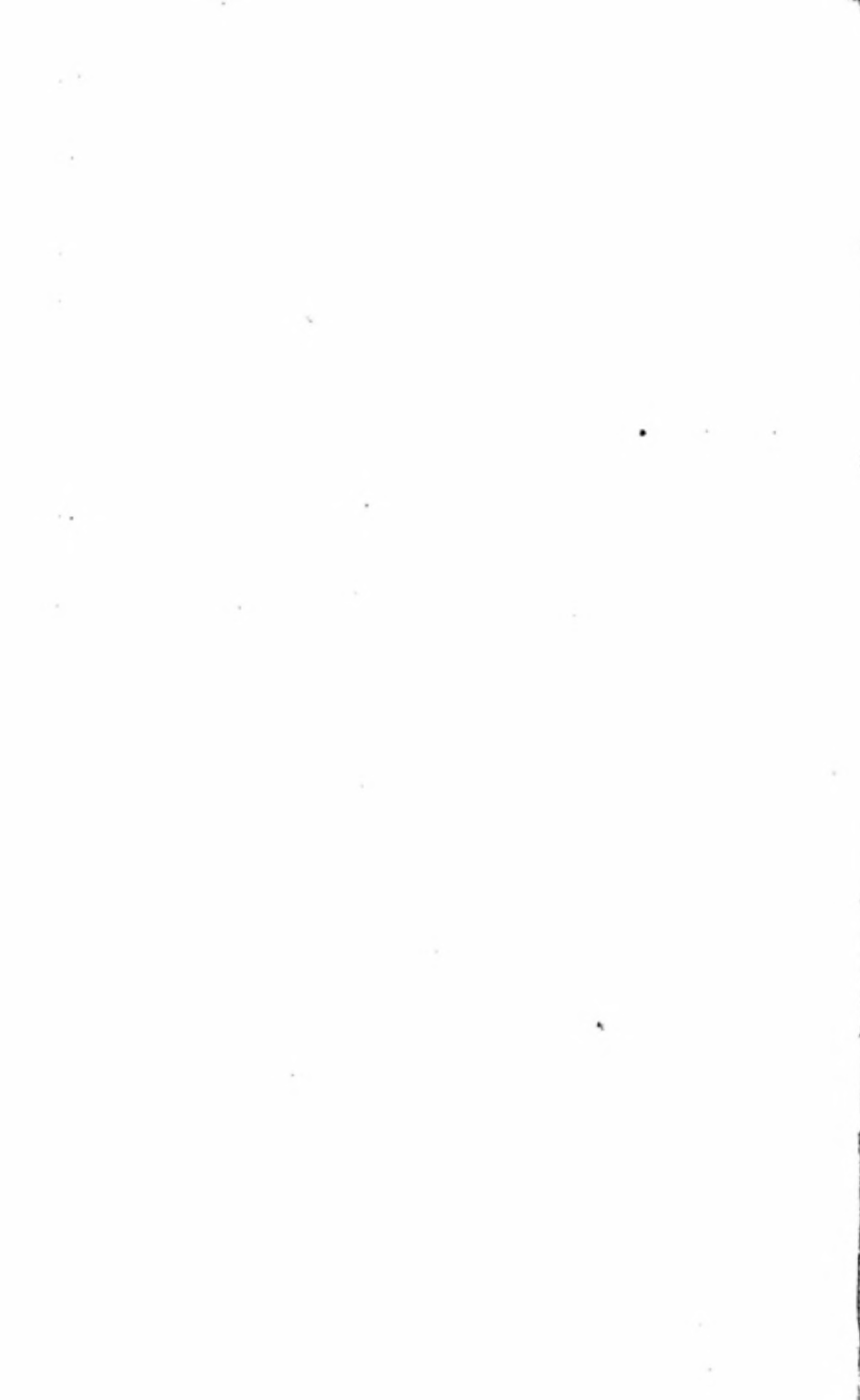
"Presbyter, patrinus et matrina abluant manus super fontes cum aqua aliqua non de fonte benedicto."



GLASS DISH supposed to have been used at the Christening of Queen Elizabeth. September 10, 1533.

Preserved in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

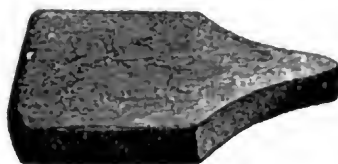
Diameter, 12½ inches.



partely gilt." A glass bowl or drinking cup of Venetian manufacture, a fine specimen of the decorated vessels, produced by the artificers of Murano, is in possession of Mr. W. P. Elsted of Dover, to whom it has descended, with other precious family relics, as having belonged to good Queen Bess. By the will of John Whitfield, gent., of Canterbury, who died in 1691, he gave to his son certain medals, his grandfather's seal ring, "the Estritch cup and Queen Elizabeth's glass, which was his grandfather's." Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, vol. iv. p. 427, note.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYNN, M.P.—A small implement of bronze, of unknown use, found with spear-heads, a celt, a gouge, and other relics of that metal, in the bank of a ditch at Ebnall near Oswestry, about 1848. It measures in length $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth 1 inch, thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. (See wood-cut.) One extremity is blunt, cut off straight, the other is pointed, like the tang of an implement intended to be affixed to a haft; it has been supposed to have been used as a hammer, or possibly a weight. Another, of similar form, but rather longer proportions, was found at the same time; these relics came into the possession of a medical gentleman at Oswestry, by whom the object exhibited was, with a spear and celt, presented to Mr. Wynn, the remainder being retained as "playthings for his children."



By the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.P.—A silver horn, such as are worn by women in some parts of Syria. It was obtained at Beyrout, in 1856, through a Druse dragoman, and is of the form at that time commonly in use, although, as Mr. Egerton was informed, becoming somewhat out of fashion. It is a multangular truncated tube of thin silver plate, slightly tapering towards the top, on which there is a double triangle (the conventional ornament called "Solomon's Seal,") and round the sides are fir cones and leaves of rude workmanship. Horns are worn in the East as tokens of rank; silver ornaments of this kind, worn by the Druse women on Mount Lebanon, are stated to be the distinctive marks of wifehood. The horn, measuring about 18 inches in length, is attached to the head-dress, and projects from the forehead; the veil constantly worn in the East is thrown over it, and thus kept off the face.

By Mrs. SHORT.—Small watch, made by Edward Gilpin, who, as we are informed by Mr. Octavius Morgan, was of London, and was admitted in 1632 a member of the Clockmakers' Company, incorporated by charter from Charles I. in 1631. He was accordingly one of the earliest members. He died in 1665.

By the Right Hon. the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—Personal ornaments of gold enameled, and specimens of jewelry in the style of the cinquecento period.

By Sir THOMAS E. WINNINGTON, Bart., M.P.—Painting in oils on alabaster, representing the Ascension; a singular production of Italian art, described as in the manner of Bronzino.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Two state chamberlains' keys of some German principality; one of them of steel chased, the other of gilt metal. Date, late in seventeenth century. The initials are J. T. ensigned with a princely cap or coronet. Both keys are similar in size, form, and decoration, and neither of them seems to have been used.—Official master key, with a flat circular bow, or handle, sliding along the stem, which has a bit at each of its ends, thus forming two keys, to each of which the bow serves as a handle. It is of perforated work in brass, and displays, on one side, the Imperial Eagle, on the other, the arms of the city of Nuremberg. Date, seventeenth century.—Miniature portrait of Seifried Pfünzing von Henfenfeld, modeled in wax; 1596. The family was of distinction in Nuremberg in the sixteenth century. The art of modeling in wax was much practised in that city, and was brought to great perfection early in the following century by an artist named Anna Maria Pfründer; this specimen, however, shows that it had attained excellence at an earlier period.—Miniature portrait of Alice, Lady Lisle, beheaded, in 1685, amongst the victims of Jeffrey's bloody assize after the discomfiture of the Duke of Monmouth. No other portrait of this ill-fated lady is known.—Miniature in oil of Charles II., by Sir Peter Lely, signed with the painter's monogram.—Miniature of James II., in body-colors on card; the artist is unknown.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Pole-axe, carried by officers of infantry in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., a weapon of which examples are uncommon. It has an axe-blade, with a curved spike at the back. The haft is of iron covered with leather, hollow, and containing a four-sided blade, or "tuck," which may be projected through an aperture at the top of the haft, closed by a little hinged covering, and fixed by means of a spring-stud, thus doubling the length of the weapon when used against cavalry. In the Goodrich Court Armory there is a specimen *temp.* Eliz., and another *temp.* James I. Skelton, vol. ii. pl. 91, figs. 12, 13. It seems to be a variety of the "Swedish feather."—Martel or horseman's hammer, plain, with a square wooden haft strengthened with a steel plate on each of its sides, and furnished with a short hook for suspension to the saddle-bow. It is German, or possibly Italian; date, late sixteenth century. Compare Skelton's *Illustr. Goodrich Court Armory*, vol. ii. pl. 91.

By Mr. ROBERT FERGUSON.—Two small fictile vessels, stated to have been found in the Thames; one of them is of black glazed ware coarsely painted with white flowers; the other of red ware ornamented with lines of green and white beads; height of each $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Bronze dagger, specimen of numerous fictitious castings lately offered for sale by the laborers engaged in works near the Thames; the handle is in the form of a snake, not inelegantly twined; on the blade is inscribed—*VINDUS C.* Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In other objects of the same class the handle represents an armed warrior, a naked female holding a flower to her bosom, &c. It is desirable to invite attention to the varied deceptive objects of this description, in which considerable traffic is now carried on in the City; these forgeries are also sometimes taken to other parts of the kingdom where any works or excavations may be in progress.

By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.—A diminutive spoon, probably of pewter, and a small brass cup-shaped object, supposed to be one of a set of weights

fitting one into another as a "nest." The weight is nearly 1 oz. These relics had been lately found in a garden at Widcombe, a suburb of Bath on the south side of the river Avon.

By Mr. W. WARWICK KING.—Sepulchral brass of a priest in the eucharistic vestments, holding a chalice with the host in his left hand; the right is raised in the gesture of benediction. From a church in Buckinghamshire. Exhibited by permission of the Rev. F. G. Lee. Date, about 1520.—"Palimpsest" brass, from Cheam Church, Surrey; the obverse represents the Holy Trinity; the Supreme Being is seen enthroned, holding the crucifix, the Dove is over the Saviour's head. On the reverse is part of an earlier memorial, the design being a heart, inscribed—*Jh̄s est Amor meus*—held between two hands, and on a scroll—*libera me dñe de morto* In the background above are the words—*Jh̄s M'ey*. This plate is affixed to the south wall of Fromond's chancel, on the south side of the church, being part of a memorial with brasses of Thomas Fromond, Esq., who died 1542, his wife, six sons, and four daughters. The inscription is given by Aubrey, *Hist. Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 120; Manning, vol. ii. p. 476; the representation of the Holy Trinity being noticed by the former as "a Crucifix;" see also Mr. Haines' *Monum. Brasses*, vol. ii. p. 199.

By his Excellency the Marquis d'AZEGLIO.—An heraldic drawing on parchment, displaying 35 escutcheons of arms of various families and countries, English, French, Castilian, Austrian, &c., possibly a series of precedents of armorial design. Date, sixteenth century.

By Mr. WALTER H. TREGELLAS.—A singular hexagonal vessel of coarse green-glazed earthenware, belonging to Mr. R. W. Glover, by whom it was recently obtained in Paris. It is a kind of strainer, the bottom and sides being perforated in every part; in the centre is a medallion, with the monogram IHS. surmounted by a cross, and underneath it a heart pierced with three nails, with the initials C. S.; around are several other medallions of smaller size. It measures about 12 inches in diameter, and 3 inches in height. Canon Rock is of opinion that this singular vessel, being marked with sacred emblems, may have served some ecclesiastical purpose, possibly for draining the water from certain cloths, or *mundatoria*, after being used for sacred purposes.

By Mr. S. DODD.—A small MS. of the "Registrum Brevium," in the handwriting of the fourteenth century.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Impression of a seal of circular form, diam. seven-eighths of an inch; the device is a lion in conflict with a wyvern; the tail terminates in a head that bites the lion's hind leg. Legend,—* LEO. PVGNAT. CVM. DRACONE. Date, 13th century. This specimen has been lately added to Mr. Waterton's collection. A seal identical in design and size was used by Thomas de Ingaldesthorpe, t. Henr. III., and is figured by the Rev. G. H. Dashwood, amongst seals from the muniments of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., pl. iv. fig. 7.

ANNUAL LONDON MEETING.

Tuesday, May 16, 1865.

THE customary Annual Meeting to receive the Report of the Auditors of the previous year, with the statement of Receipts and Expenditure during that period, took place at the apartments of the Institute in Burlington Gardens on Tuesday, May 16. In the absence of the President the Chair was taken by Charles Sprengel Greaves, Esq., Q.C.

The Balance-sheet, duly signed by the Auditors for the year 1864, was submitted to the Meeting, and unanimously approved. The abstract of Cash Accounts for that year was ordered to be printed in the Journal.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by the Rev. Gregory Rhodes and John Henderson, Esq., F.S.A., the Meeting adjourned.

June 2, 1865.

SIR JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A communication was read, relating to the recent formation of a "British Archæological Society" at Rome, in great degree after the precedent of the Archæological Institute. Lord Talbot de Malahide has consented to become President of the Society, formed chiefly through the suggestion and impulse given to the undertaking by himself and a few members of the Institute residing at Rome during the last winter, who had been impressed with the feeling that a rich field of mediæval, not less than of classical, archæology still there remains to be worked out. An active part in the establishment of the Society has been taken by Mr. J. H. Parker, who had devoted special attention to some early ecclesiological remains at Rome, hitherto imperfectly explored; by Mr. C. D. Fortnum also, a zealous auxiliary in the purposes of the Institute; by Mr. Odo Russell; by Mr. Severn, H. B. M.'s Consul; by the Bishop of Brechin; and by other persons conversant with mediæval art and archæology.

The Very Rev. Canon Rook offered some remarks on the announcement made by Mr. Purnell, expressing his opinion that the institution of such a Society in the Eternal City could not fail to be productive of beneficial results, especially in regard to the early ecclesiological and mediæval monuments, which had been comparatively neglected, owing to the more generally appreciated attractions of the vestiges of pagan antiquity.

The Marquess CAMDEN, K.G., stated that the following request had been officially conveyed to him, in connection with the arrangements for the proposed Universal Exhibition at Paris in the ensuing year. The noble President expressed his readiness to co-operate on any occasion whereby the interests of archæological science and the purposes of the Institute might be promoted.

"31st May, 1865.

"MR LORD,—

"In accordance with a resolution which was passed at a meeting of H. M.'s Commissioners for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1866, held on the 27th instant, under the Presidency of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales,

when it was notified to them that objects of ancient art and antiquities would be represented at Paris, I am directed to express a hope that you will allow your name to be added to the Commission, as President of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

"I have the honor to be

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

(Signed) "HENRY COLE,

"Secretary.

"The Most Hon. the Marquess CAMDEN, K.G."

Mr. A. BERESFORD HOPE offered some observations on the objects and functions of the proposed Commission from this country to the Universal Exhibition. He stated that, as President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, he had likewise been invited to participate, and he expressed how highly he should feel honored in being associated with the noble Marquess on the occasion.

Mr. C. SPRENGEL GREAVES, Q.C., read a memoir on a remarkable Greek inscription, of which he had received a fac-simile from Mr. Frank Calvert, by whom it had been discovered in a mosque; originally, however, it was at the town of Sestos, on the Hellespont. It consists of 106 lines, wholly in capitals, and, with few exceptions, there are no divisions between the words. The inscription is cut on a slab of white marble, 5 ft. long, and 2 ft. wide; it is in fair preservation, two lines only at the beginning and a few words or letters in other parts being damaged. Mr. Greaves stated, that the inscription contains a decree of the Senate and people of Sestos in honor of Menas, son of Menes. This decree was proposed by Menander, son of Appollas. The inscription contained a prolix enumeration of the meritorious actions of Menas. It stated that from the dawn of his youth he deemed it honorable to render service to his country; spared no expense, and avoided neither danger nor suffering, but thought everything secondary to the love of his country; that he performed many embassies to the kings, probably the Attali, kings of Pergamos; transacted business with Strato, commander of the Chersonese and Thrace; that, after the death of the kings, when the city was in danger through the Thracians and other circumstances, he persevered in the best and most honorable actions for his country; undertook embassies to the commanders sent by the Romans into Asia, and effected what was serviceable to his country. He was chosen priest of King Attalus, and well discharged the duties of the office, paying attention not only to the citizens, but also to the strangers; being chosen Gymnasiarch, he provided admirably for the good order of the Epheboi and youths, and other matters of the Gymnasium; furnished the bath and the temple of Mercury, and probably that of Hercules, and dedicated a statue of white marble. In return for these things, the Demos considered him worthy of a vote of praise; the Epheboi and the youths crowned him, and he bore the expense himself. The Demos determined to use its own brass money marked with the emblem of the city, and Menas bestowed the necessary care upon it. Being again elected Gymnasiarch, he sustained the office in troublous times, when many were afflicted by the incursions of the Thracians and the wars, in which everything was carried away from the pastures, and the arable land remained unsown, whereby the Demos in general, and each citizen, were brought into distress; that Menas sacri-

ficed to Mercury and Hercules on behalf of the Demos and the youths, celebrated games, and invited not only the citizens but strangers to the sacred feasts. He dealt benevolently with all that attended public teaching, wishing to acquire glory for his country through those who were instructed; and that he took care of the education of the Epheboi and the youths; he celebrated games in honor of Mercury and Hercules in the month Hyperberetæus, giving, as prizes, splendid arms on which the names of the victors were engraved; he also gave prizes for good order, energetic action, and a good habit of body; that the Demos might appear, therefore, to honor good and worthy men, and to approve of those who from their youth had been zealous for the common weal; and that others might be induced to emulation, it was decreed by the Senate and the Demos that Menas be praised on account of the things aforesaid, and for the good will which he continued to entertain towards the Demos; that it be granted to him to dedicate arms bearing inscriptions; and that he be crowned by the Epheboi and the youths, and also by the whole Demos in the Assembly, with a golden crown, the herald making proclamation:—"The Demos crowns Menas, who has twice honorably and magnificently discharged the duties of Gymnasiarch, on account of his virtue and goodwill towards itself." And it is decreed that a bronze statue of him be erected in the Gymnasium, on which shall be inscribed:—"The Demos and the youths crown Menas, who has twice honorably discharged the duties of Gymnasiarch, and been good towards the Demos." Also it was decreed, that he and his descendants be called to precedence in every game which the Demos celebrates; and that the Agonothet for each year make proclamation of the crowning. And since Menas, on account of the existing pressure on the public, wishes to gratify the city even in this, and undertakes the expense of the statue, let as handsome a statue as possible be provided, and let this vote be inscribed on a pillar of white marble placed in the Gymnasium.

Such, Mr. Graves observed, is an imperfect outline of this inscription. As to its date, Mr. Greswell, the highest authority on such a subject, had fixed it between B.C. 133 and B.C. 126, for the following reasons:—The inscription mentions King Attalus and the deaths of the Kings, and a time of great confusion and distress after their deaths, in the course of which Roman commanders had been sent into Asia. There were three Kings of Pergamos of the name of Attalus. The second died B.C. 138, and the third B.C. 133; he bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people; but Aristonicus, claimant by right of succession, maintained a contest for them for six years with the Romans. The war began B.C. 132 or 131, when L. Crassus was sent against Aristonicus; and the triumph over him by M. Aquilius was on November 20, B.C. 126. From this time the dominions of the Kings of Pergamos were called Proconsular Asia, and in any contemporary Greek decree its commander would be called *Ἀσθῆναρος*. Therefore, the date of this inscription seems to be between B.C. 133 and B.C. 126. About an inch of the first line of the inscription is wanting, and the first letters now to be seen are . . *ws*. Greek inscriptions commonly begin with mention of the chief officer in the State at the time; and probably this inscription began *ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, like two similar decrees of the Amphictyons mentioned in the oration of Demosthenes *de Corona*; if so, probably the beginning was:—"When Glaucias was the Priest of the Cilæan Apollo." In the Macedo-Hellenic Calendar,

Hyperboretaeus was the last month, and the only month which began with $\omega\pi$; consequently there can be little doubt that that is the month mentioned, especially as there is an inscription from Pergamos in the "Corpus Inscr.," vol. ii., p. 846, which has that month in the second line. The form of the decree accords with that of others, several of which are cited by Demosthenes in his Oration *de Corona*, and especially one for crowning Demosthenes himself; but that decree is not a sixth of the length of the inscription found by Mr. Calvert; in substance, as regards the crowning with a golden crown, they are very similar. In the decree at Sestos the *καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς* occurs repeatedly in various forms; in that on Demosthenes, the *καλοκαγαθία*—the concentration of all that is honorable and good—is a primary cause of the vote. With regard to the games mentioned, we have races, *διαδρομαί*, and the long race, *μακρὸς δρόμος*; the casting of spears, *ἀκόντισμος*, and the shooting of arrows, *τοξεία*; and we have also *διακόντισμος* and *διατοξεία*, the former of which seems to denote the casting a spear through something, possibly a ring, and the latter may refer to a similar performance with arrows.

Mr. Greaves has consented to edit the important inscription, of which through his kindness we are enabled to give the foregoing abstract, for the Royal Society of Literature.

Mr. JOSEPH WILKINSON gave an account of the discovery, during the previous month, of a Roman coffin of stone at Saxon Road, Old Ford, near Bow, in a piece of old meadow land adjoining to the station on the Great Eastern line, and now broken up for building purposes. It lay on the gravel at a depth of only 30 in.; the cavity measures 6 ft. in length, 18 in. in width at the head, 16 in. at the feet, and 12 in. in depth; the thickness of the stone is 4 in.; the lid, which projected over the sides of the coffin, is slightly coped. The interment lay east and west, with the feet to the west; it was found about 150 yds. south of the Roman Road from London towards Essex, by the ford of the River Lea. Pottery, a few coins, and some other relics, were disinterred near the spot. Roman vestiges have been found frequently near the ancient line of way at Bow. A stone coffin, similar in fashion to that described by Mr. Wilkinson, and formed of a single block of oolite, was brought to light in 1856, about a quarter of a mile south of the Roman Road; the cover was slightly coped. The skeleton was perfect, the arms crossed on the breast; the coffin lay east and west. A vase, containing, as supposed, the bones of an infant, an ampulla, and a patera of red ware, were also found. See the account given by Mr. B. H. Cowper, Trans. Lond. and Middlesex Arch. Soc., vol. i. p. 192.

Brigadier-General LEFROT, R.A., read a memoir on the excavations, in August last, of a circular subterranean chamber in the Torwood, Stirlingshire, on the estates of Lieut.-Col. Dundas of Fingask, about three miles north of the Wall of Antoninus. The site is a mound at the extremity of a range of hills commanding a very extensive view; here a rudely-formed opening in the surface had long been noticed, concealed amongst luxuriant heather and large stones. A flight of stairs was discovered, leading to a cavity within the hillock; and, on further exploration being made from the top of the mound, an internal chamber, 106 ft. in circumference, was cleared out, with a small gateway and passage of descent to the lower ground. The floor is the natural rock; the walls rise about 8 ft. to 11 ft. This curious structure had been formed of mas-

sive blocks of sandstone, and the chamber had doubtless been rudely vaulted by stones "stepped over," forming a roof, beehive-fashion, which had fallen in, encumbering the chamber with the debris. Amongst the wreck within were found three stones with incised circular markings, similar to those lately noticed on rocks in Northumberland and Scotland. The interior height of this remarkable stronghold may have been about 40 ft. A few bones were collected, a pair of querns, single quern-stones, broken pottery, perforated balls of clay, a hone, &c. General Lefroy exhibited plans, and several spirited drawings by Col. Dundas, by whom an account of the discovery was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in March last.

Sir J. CLARKE JERVOISE, Bart., adverting to the vestiges in Hampshire, to which, on a former occasion, he had invited attention, and especially to the white calcined flints locally called "milk-stones," on his property, near the ancient forest of Bere, observed that the recently published work by Mr. Tyler on the Early History of Mankind had confirmed his supposition of the possible connection of those relics with some primitive mode of cooking. Mr. Tyler has designated an early pre-historic age the "Stone-boiling Period," when, as it is supposed, heated stones were used for certain culinary purposes, before vessels were formed suited for boiling by the ordinary exposure to fire. Sir Jervoise remarked that the flint celt which he had found in one of the heaps of "milk-stone" might in some degree indicate their date; and he wished to recall the attention of the Institute to these remarkable vestiges of an early race.

In regard to the cracked surface of the calcined flints found near the Forest of Bere, Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN offered some observations on the process by which cracked porcelain is produced in China; he believed that the state of the "milk-stone" had been caused by some similar action of fire, and by quenching the heated stones in water.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—A gold ring, long in possession of an old Scotch Jacobite family, having on the outside a miniature portrait of King George, whilst within there were two portraits, of which one only remains; these represented, it is believed, the Chevalier and his consort.—Two Hebrew MSS., obtained at Algiers and Tunis, one of them being the Song of Moses, the other the Book of Esther; date, fourteenth century.—Collection of Kabyle charms and ornaments in silver and white metal, worn by the Berbers of North Africa, in the territory of Algiers.

By Sir J. CLARKE JERVOISE, Bart., M.P.—Gold ring, found during the previous month in a garden at Treadwhit, near Idsworth, Hants. The hoop is enriched with small enameled ornaments, flowers and red hearts alternately, imitations of small pearls and emeralds, &c. Within the hoop is engraved the following posy: "If I love can merit I shall inherit." It is a lady's ring, and of very small dimensions; the enamel delicately executed, and in good preservation. Three years ago, some coins of James I. and Charles I. were found near the same place.—A valuable pedigree of the Lee Warner family, which came into the possession of Sir Jervoise from his grandmother, only daughter and heiress of Robert Warner, Esq., of Bedhampton, Hants.

By Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE.—Contemporary portrait of Charles I., on panel, from Hedingham Castle, Essex.

By the Hon. R. FULKE GREVILLE, through Mr. B. Williams.—Grant by Henry VIII. of "Slebyche," or Slebech, Pill, now called Milford, in Pembrokeshire, with other estates in that county which had belonged to the Preceptory of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This document is dated June 26, 1546. The manor of "Slevik" was granted in that year, 38 Hen. VIII., to Roger Barlow, the spirited naval adventurer.

Archaeological Intelligence.

The third edition of the "Roman Wall," enriched by the researches of the last ten years, is announced for immediate publication. Many readers of this Journal may have enjoyed the gratification of a pilgrimage, "per lineam Valli," in the company of the talented author of this important contribution to the history of Roman occupation in Britain; many more, doubtless, have appreciated his graphic descriptions and his indefatigable research. In the forthcoming edition Dr. Bruce will be enabled to embody the results of the surveys carried out by Mr. MacLauchlan by direction of the late lamented Duke of Northumberland. Numerous fresh facts have also been revealed by excavations, the most recent discovery being the disinterment of a portion of the Wall in Newcastle, where the line had been extremely obscure. Through the liberality of the Duke, of Mr. Clayton, and of the Dean and Chapter, an extensive series of engravings has been prepared for a work which is intended to include the inscribed stones and the principal sculptures found in the north of England; from this valuable store Dr. Bruce has been permitted to select, for the third edition of his work, such illustrations as are most desirable; numerous relics of interest, coins, vases, ornaments, &c., have also been engraved for the forthcoming volume. The edition will consist of 500 copies in quarto, price, to subscribers, three guineas, and fifty copies in folio, ranging with Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; for these last special application must be addressed to the author, the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D. Subscribers' names are also received for the quarto copies by the publisher, Mr. Andrew Reid, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mr. Engelhardt, late director of the Museum of Antiquities at Flensburg, announces (by subscription 24s.) an elaborately illustrated volume, "Denmark in the Early Iron Age," comprising recent discoveries in the peat-mosses of Slesvig. Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, from whom the prospectus of this highly interesting work may be obtained.

Mr. John Maclean, F.S.A., announces a Parochial History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor, in Cornwall, a district in which are situated some of the most important vestiges of antiquity that are to be found in the county. The work will comprise the history of nineteen parishes, including Bodmin, Blisland, Egloshaile, St. Kew, Michaelstow, Tintagel, with other places in which there exist remarkable remains of the prehistoric period, and also architectural examples of interest. For the convenience of subscribers the history of each parish will be delivered separately, if desired.

The author proposes to trace the descent of manors, and to give pedigrees of the families through which they have passed; the volume will be accompanied by ground-plans of churches and castles, with other illustrations. The parish of Blisland (price to subscribers, 7s.) is nearly ready; the other portions will appear as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall have been obtained. Messrs. Nichols, 25, Parliament Street, are the publishers.

To those of our readers who take interest in Sepulchral Memorials and the Engraved Brasses or stone Slabs of the Middle Ages, the announcement of a work now in course of publication in Belgium may be acceptable. M. Emile Schoorman, secretary of the "Comité Central de publication des Inscriptions Funéraires de la Flandre Orientale," has undertaken the selection of an extensive series of examples. The work, of which 40 *livraisons* have appeared, is in 4to, with lithographic illustrations, the price of each number being 2 francs. From six to ten numbers are issued in a year, under direction of the committee specially formed at Ghent for the purpose.

The second series of the Illustrated Catalogue of SCOTTISH SEALS, by Mr. Henry Laing, is in the press, and will speedily be delivered to the subscribers. The value of Mr. Laing's first volume, published in 1851, and the accuracy of the numerous illustrations by which it is accompanied, are known to all who take interest in Mediæval Sphragistic Art. No work on an equally comprehensive plan had at that time been undertaken, so far as we are aware, in any country. More recently, however, the complete descriptive Inventory of Seals preserved in the great depository of Public Records at Paris, the interesting "*Sigillographie de la Ville de Saint-Omer*" by Messrs. Hermand and Deschamps de Pas, and the valuable memoirs on Swiss seals which have appeared in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, with some other publications of a like description, have shown the increasing appreciation of these relics of mediæval art. Since the completion of Mr. Laing's first series, he has been indefatigable in collecting fresh materials, and his friends have lost no opportunity of aiding his inquiries; amongst fresh sources of important information, Mr. Laing has been liberally permitted by the Dean and Chapter of Durham to have access to their precious muniments, and the whole of the Scottish seals in the Record Office in London have been examined and photographed, under his direction, at the expense of four generous lovers of mediæval art, who are desirous that the materials thus obtained should be given to the public. In the great depository last mentioned Mr. Laing has thus been enabled to augment his collection by the addition of all the seals of Scotch magnates appended to the Homages. The supplementary volume, shortly to be issued, will contain descriptions of nearly 1000 seals, Baronial, Ecclesiastical, and Monastic, with those of Burghs and Towns; they are chiefly of early date, and will present most authentic information regarding Scottish heraldry and those devices by which the systematic use of heraldic bearings was preceded. Numerous illustrations will be given. The price of the volume will be two guineas to subscribers, whose names may be sent to Mr. Laing, 1, Elder Street, Edinburgh, or to Messrs. Edmonston and Douglas, the publishers. It is needless to point out how acceptable to those who are interested in heraldic researches, or the investigation of family history, any such repertories must prove. We hope that Mr. Franks may ere long complete his promised contribution to the history of Seals in this country in the descriptive

enumeration of original matrices and of impressions attached to documents, which formed the special exhibition in May, 1861, by the Society of Antiquaries. (Proceedings, vol. i., Second Series, p. 392.) It may be acceptable to some of our readers to be reminded that a brief inventory of seals connected with Wales collected by Mr. Ready (270 in number) has been printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. vi., Third Series, p. 281. The collection has subsequently received numerous additions. Of these, with his other rich Sphragistic acquisitions, and also of the extensive miscellaneous stock amassed by the late Mr. Doubleday, extending to upwards of 20,000 examples, Mr. Ready is enabled to supply the collector with faithful reproductions either in sulphur or electrotyped.¹

We may invite attention to an addition to Northumbrian topography, the History of the Borough, Castle, and Barony of Alnwick, with notices of monastic and ecclesiastical foundations, and of the antiquities of the district. This interesting monograph, of which five parts have been issued, comprises the results of many years' investigation by Mr. GEORGE TATE, F.G.S., secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, to whose Transactions many valuable memoirs have from time to time been contributed by Mr. Tate, especially his account of the ancient town of Greaves Ash, near Linhope, on the flanks of the Cheviots, and his dissertation on the "Ancient British Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland and the Eastern Borders," a very remarkable class of remains which has recently attracted considerable attention.² His Annals of the ancient border-town and stronghold of the Percys comprise much curious information connected with the Northern Marches. Amongst the numerous illustrations will be found the remarkable sculptured fragments of a cross, inscribed with Runes, found in 1789 near the ruined church, commonly called Woden's Church, at Alnmouth. A portion only of this relic had previously been figured, very inaccurately, in the *Archæologia*, vol. x., pl. xxxvi. These sculptures are now preserved in the Museum in the Postern Tower at Alnwick Castle. Our lamented friend Kemble decyphered the name of Meredeh (Meredith), as the person by whom the cross was wrought. Subscribers' names may be addressed to the author, at Alnwick.

The discoveries recently made in the south of France in caverns, the habitations of man at a remote period, by the late Mr. HENRY CHRISTY and M. EDOUARD LARTET are fresh in the remembrance of all who have followed the rapid progress of archæological science in connection with the obscure vestiges of the earliest races. It is highly gratifying to learn that the extensive collection of early remains brought together from all parts of Europe by the lamented Mr. Christy, who for many years prosecuted his special subject of inquiry with singular perseverance and intelligence, will not be dispersed; in pursuance of the dispositions of his will that precious assemblage of evidence has been tendered by his trustees to the British Museum; it will, as we understand, be provisionally deposited in a house appropriated to the purpose, and a detailed catalogue is in preparation.

MM. Baillières have lately announced the first part of the "*Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*," being contributions to the Archæology and Palæontology of

¹ See a more full notice of Mr. Ready's valuable collections in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 47. His address is 3, Penton Grove, White Lion Street, N.

² This memoir, illustrated by twelve

engravings from accurate drawings by Mr. Story, may be obtained from Mr. H. Blair, Alnwick; price, postage included, 5s.

Perigord and the adjoining provinces of Southern France, by M. Lartet and Mr. Christy. The work will be illustrated by many lithographic plates of the weapons, ornaments, tools, &c., in stone, bone, and horn, of the ancient pre-historic cave-dwellers of Perigord, also of the remains of contemporaneous animals. It will consist of about twenty parts, in 4to., each containing six plates, price 3s. 6d.

The History of Ancient Artillery has in recent years assumed a fresh interest, not only on account of the rapid progress of modern artificers in the means of hostile destruction, and the incidental recurrence to certain obsolete inventions, but doubtless in great measure through attention excited by the elaborate "*Etudes sur le passé et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*," by the Emperor of the French. In our own country the subject has been elucidated by the researches of the late Mr. Hunter, and recently by Mr. Burtt, to whom we were indebted for some particulars printed in this Journal, vol. xix., p. 68. To the kindness of General Lefroy we owe the curious account of early cannon at the Mont St. Michel, given in this volume, and more fully in the Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, vol. iv. The interesting questions connected with this subject have found an intelligent and zealous investigator in Lieut. Brackenbury, R.A., whose researches will be recorded in the publication last mentioned. The first part of his communications on "*Ancient Cannon in Europe, from their first employment to A.D. 1350*," comprises much information derived from careful and critical examination of documentary evidence.

The characteristic peculiarities of church architecture in the western extremity of Southern England have long excited the curiosity of the Ecclesiologist. Our readers may recall the valuable memoirs given in this Journal by Mr. E. W. Godwin, vol. x., p. 317, vol. xviii., pp. 231, 325, and by Mr. Rogers, vol. xi., p. 33. Mr. J. T. Blight, of Penzance, with whose abilities as an antiquary we are familiar through his curious notices of early Cornish habitations near Chysauster, given in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 39, has lately completed a volume of *Notes on the Churches of West Cornwall*, published by Messrs. Parker, and well deserving of the attention of the architectural antiquary.



SHERBORNE MINSTER, Dorsetshire.
General view from the South-West. From a Drawing by the Rev. John Louis Petit, F.S.A.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1865.

SHERBORNE MINSTER.

By the Rev. R. WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., &c., Jacksonian Professor of the University of Cambridge.¹

THE church or minster of Sherborne, as it now stands, exhibits in its fabric clear evidence to show that it is essentially a Norman church entirely transformed—so far as the nave and presbytery are concerned, into the Perpendicular style; the transepts, tower, and other appendages still retain Norman characteristics with Early English insertions and additions, especially a portion of a fine Lady Chapel at the east end. The Perpendicular work is of an unusually grand and beautiful character, and has the advantage of being accurately dated. At the west end of this minster are fragments, which clearly show that the nave was prolonged in the fourteenth century by a building resembling a parish church, with three aisles, the plan of which can be pretty accurately traced. This is known as the church or chapel of Alhalowes.

The minster was that of a Benedictine Abbey; but we have no records of its first construction, and the remains of the monastic buildings are too scanty to attract more than a passing mention in the present memoir. The site of them is appropriated to the King's School, the buildings of which have been lately rearranged and constructed without reference to the plan of the monastery, although admirably adapted to their proper purposes.

At the meeting of the Institute at Oxford, in 1850, a memoir of Sherborne Minster was read by the Rev. J. L.

¹ Read before the Archaeological Institute, at their annual meeting, held at Dorchester, August 2, 1865.

Petit, which was afterwards printed in the Bristol volume, with abundant illustrations from the pencil of the author.² These sketches were made soon after the commencement of the restoration, which gives them an additional value, for they not only preserve one or two curious particulars, which have been unavoidably obliterated by that work,³ but they also serve as evidence of the admirable manner in which the restorations have been carried out. The author has confined himself to the description and analogy of the architectural characters of the building, and more especially to the forms and arrangement of the vaulting, which he has worked out so completely and ingeniously, as to have exhausted that portion of the subject.

In the present memoir, I propose, in the first place, to describe the Minster as it stands, and the probable plan of the Church of Alhalowes; and in the next place, to attempt the elucidation of the history of the latter church, and the remarkable quarrel between the monks and the parish, to which it gave rise, and which ended in a conflagration of the Minster in 1437, that destroyed the choir and central tower, but spared the nave, and was thus the cause of the building of the present magnificent structure.

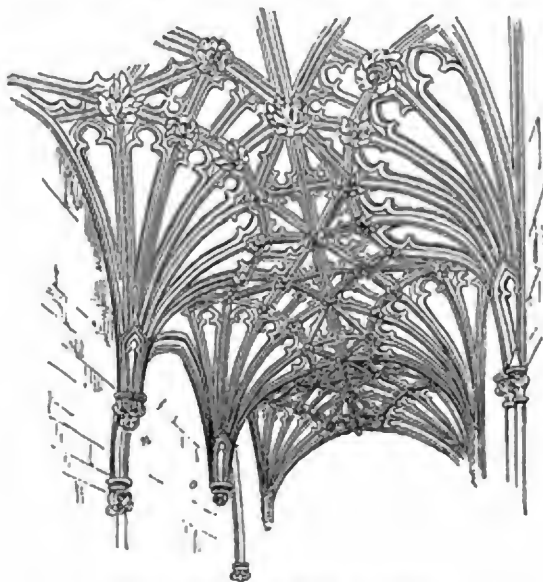
In the plan at the end of this memoir, the distribution of styles is indicated by various hatchings, as explained in the table in its margin. A, B, is the Early English Lady chapel, of which the portion B, in a darker tint than A, exists, and forms part of the building which was until lately the school-master's house, but at present has no assigned destination. This house includes also the chapel of our Lady of Bow, on the south, marked C. This chapel, built by Abbot Ramesunne,⁴ opened to the south aisle of the choir by a lofty arch, now closed by a lath and plaster partition, at the lower part of which may be seen the remains of a stone panelled screen. The north end of the house, at D, does not appear to have been the site of any chapel at the time of the Reformation, as none is mentioned in the deeds of sale of the church to the parishioners. The dotted line, at B, is the east boundary of the house, and the destroyed portion of the Lady chapel, at A,

² Vide also *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 70.

³ Vide note appended to the "view from south transept" at the end of this memoir.

⁴ "Ramesunne Abbate sette a chapelle caullid our Lady of Bow, hard to the south side of the Old Lady chapel."—*Leland. Itin.*, vol. ii. f. 49.

outside of that boundary, is laid down from a plan of the foundations uncovered by Mr. Slater, to whom I am indebted for it. One compartment of rich Early English vaulting covers the part B, included in the house. The lateral walls of this compartment are arranged in a manner that appears to indicate that, in the complete state of the east end, there were small lateral chapels on the sites of c and d. The opening of the Lady chapel to the church was by a fine Early English arch, which still exists in the wall, but its centre is a little south of that of the Perpendicular choir, and consequently the corbels at *n* and *o*, which receive the fan vaults of the eastern aisle, are placed out of symmetry; *o*, which falls against the opening, is constructed so as to remain as a pendant hanging freely down.



Vault of Eastern Aisle behind the Reredos.

This is shown in Mr. Petit's woodcut above,⁵ which represents the fan vault of this eastern aisle looking south. The walled-up arch of the Lady chapel is indicated by the outer molding, which stands free of the wall. The corbel, *n*, of the fan vault is engrafted upon this Early English molding,

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Petit's kindness for the use of this woodcut, and also of five others enumerated in the List of

Illustrations at the end of this memoir, p. 115.

and the corbel, *a*, hangs down, and when the arch was open was a free pendant.

On the north side of the choir wall are two chapels, *E*, *F*; *E* retains Norman walls on three sides, and the east wall has the arch of a Norman window walled up, and the north wall an inserted Perpendicular window. This chapel was evidently an original part of the Norman church. The Norman arch of entrance from the transept, and the similar arch next to it, leading to the choir aisle, were changed for a pair of Perpendicular arches after the fire. The chapel bears the name of Bishop Roger of Sarum, A.D. 1107. East of it is another chapel, *F*, ingeniously formed by building two Early English walls to form the north and east sides, and utilising the east wall of the former chapel, and the north wall of the aisle, for the other two sides. Accordingly, Norman external arcades and blanked windows ornament its interior west and south sides, and its east has an Early English triplet, as shewn in the opposite sketch.

The choir and its aisles are complete and intelligible on the plan without explanation.

In rebuilding the choir, the Norman ruins appear to have been rased to the ground, and the present work erected, without being embarrassed by the old piers or wall. It is, therefore, a free and magnificent design of the period. The townsmen were forced to contribute to it, and it was built in Abbot Bradeforde's time—1436 to 1459.

The Norman materials were employed in the rebuilding. Thus, the panel surfaces of the Perpendicular work exhibit the small stones of the Norman masonry, encased with mullions of large stones; but the tracery heads of the panels are framed of large stones. The first sight of the work gives the impression that the panel framing has been engrafted upon untouched Norman walls and piers; but a close inspection of the masonry will show that this is certainly not the case. In the late restoration of the choir many of these small Norman stones, when taken out of the wall, showed Norman carving at the back.

After the choir was completed, and of course the services re-established therein, we find that the nave was rebuilt in the Perpendicular style. Leland's phrase is that "Peter Ramesunne (1475 to 1504), next Abbate, saving one, to

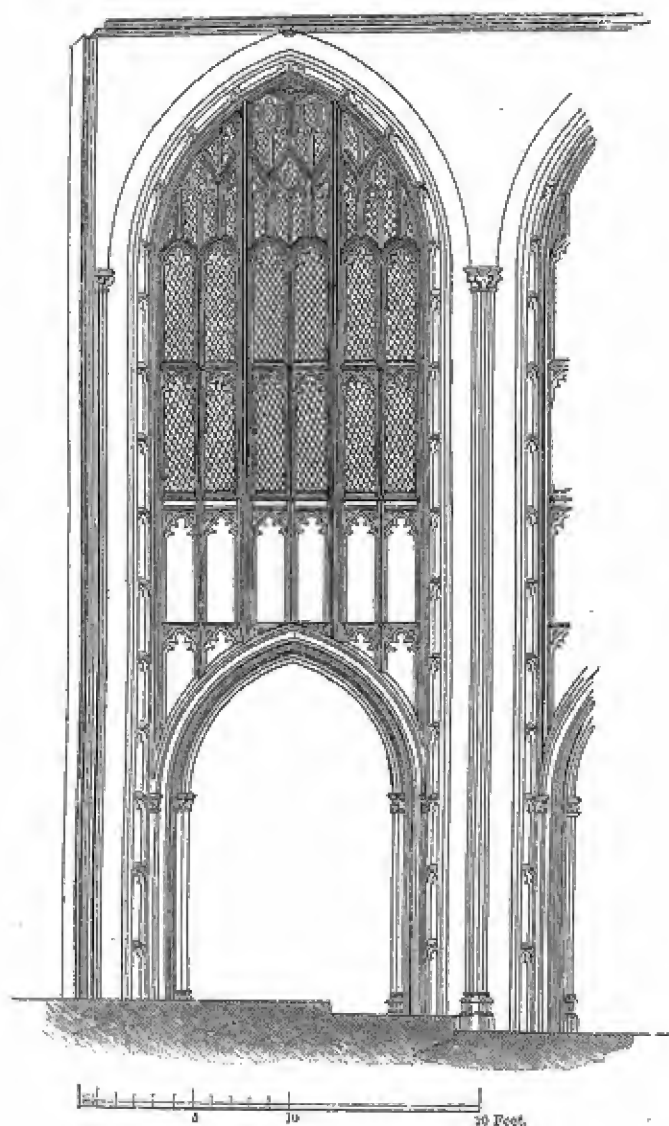


Miss Pettit, del.

Sherborne Minster.

Chapel on the North side of the Choir.





Sherborne Minster.

Bay of the Choir.

Bradeford, buildid à fundamentis al the West Part. of S Marie Chirch." Itin., vol. ii., f. 48.

Forty years had elapsed since the design of the choir had been prepared; and it is not surprising that the design of the nave differs from that of the choir altogether, and that the rebuilding was also carried on another system. The nave escaped the fire, and its stones were not injured by calcination. The irregular spacing of the present piers, which I will presently explain in detail, can, in my opinion, only be accounted for on the supposition that they contain in their hearts the core of the piers of an earlier and ruder work.

Also the difference in design between the nave and choir as exhibited in Mr. Petit's two elevations on the opposite and following pages, shows that it was forced upon the builders by the necessity of employing these old piers.

In the choir the vault shafts, and great part of the pier-moldings, rise uninterruptedly from the pavement to the level of the springing of the vault.

In the nave, on the contrary, the design is divided horizontally into two stories by a string molding, with pier arches below, and large clerestory windows above. The windows are separated from each other by vault shafts descending from the fan tracery of the roof, and resting on angel corbels placed immediately above the horizontal string molding.

The upper story divides the nave into five equal compartments, of windows and fan vaulting. Beneath the horizontal molding the series of pier arches also divides the length of the nave into five compartments. But the arches are not only of greatly unequal width, but the piers of the north and south sides do not always stand opposite to each other.

It follows that the vault shafts and angel corbels rarely stand over the middle of the spandrel walls of the pier arches. But as these spandrels are left completely bare of ornamentation, there are no architectural lines to connect the decoration of the upper story with the lower, and thus the irregularities escape general observation.⁶

⁶ In the plan the dotted lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, show the distribution of the vault and clerestory window into five equal compartments.

The dotted lines I, K, L, M, N, O, which connect the centres of the pier with the

vault shafts of the north side aisle, show the distribution of the side aisle wooden fan-vaults. By comparing the portion of these two systems of lines, the irregularities of the pier arches become evident. Similarly, on the south side, the irregular

The nature of the irregularities of the pier arches betray their Norman origin. It is not unusual in Norman churches to find a pier arch of smaller span than the others next to the tower pier. This is apparently intended to enable its pier to assist better in buttressing the tower pier. Wimborn minster may be quoted as a neighbouring example.

The transepts and tower piers are essentially Norman, but have Perpendicular windows inserted, which it is not my purpose to describe. I will merely mention that on the outer surface of the east clerestory wall of the south transept, above the chapel, G, the traces of the jamb of a Norman window, carefully preserved in the restorations, may still be seen.

These transepts, and the Norman arches of the tower intervening between the Perpendicular work of the choir and that of the nave, completely separate the one from the other, so that their differences of style are not brought into juxtaposition. The western tower arch,⁷ much lower than the fan vaultings, divides the choir vault from the nave vault. But the eastern tower arch is entirely removed, so as to leave the range of fan vaulting of the choir uninterrupted. The manner in which this is carried out is completely explained in Mr. Petit's paper (pp. 195, 196).

The Norman porch is at P on the south side. This was rebuilt with the same stones from the foundation at the beginning of the restoration, in 1850, under Mr. Carpenter, who, in accordance with the theory which then prevailed, determined to finish the upper part with a Norman composition of his own, instead of replacing the Perpendicular parapet with which it had been capped by the Mediæval architect of the nave, and which connected it so harmoniously with the exterior of the building.

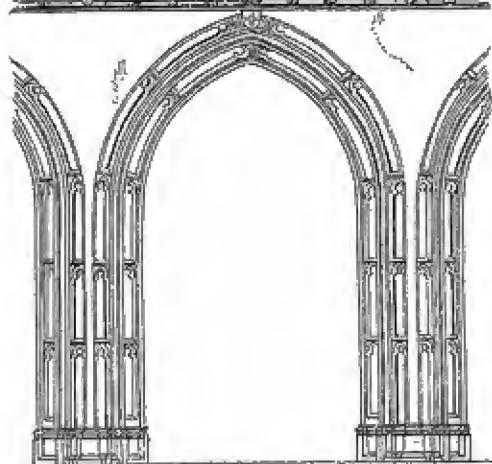
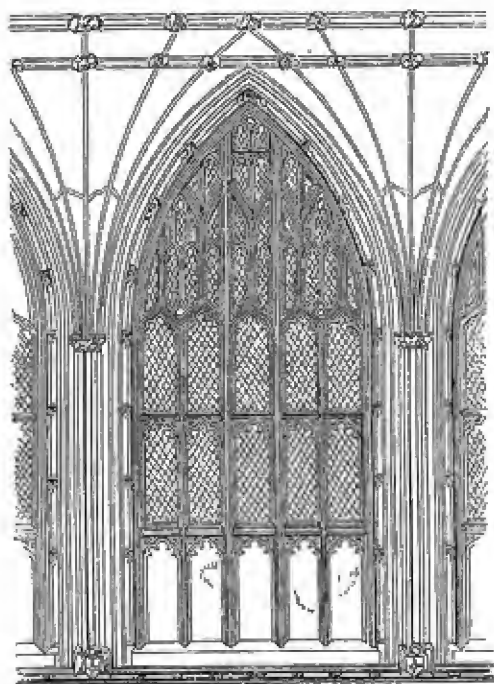
The opinion, so forcibly and admirably expressed by Mr. Petit,⁸ that "the old porch of Sherborne, Norman below and Perpendicular above, was far more valuable, and to the eye

spacing is shown even on the outside, by the buttresses. On the north side, the cloister made buttresses superfluous. But as the cloister was destroyed at the Reformation, the aisle wall, losing its support, began to give way, and was bolstered up by clumsy buttresses, which in the late restoration have given place to those which are indicated by the dotted lines.

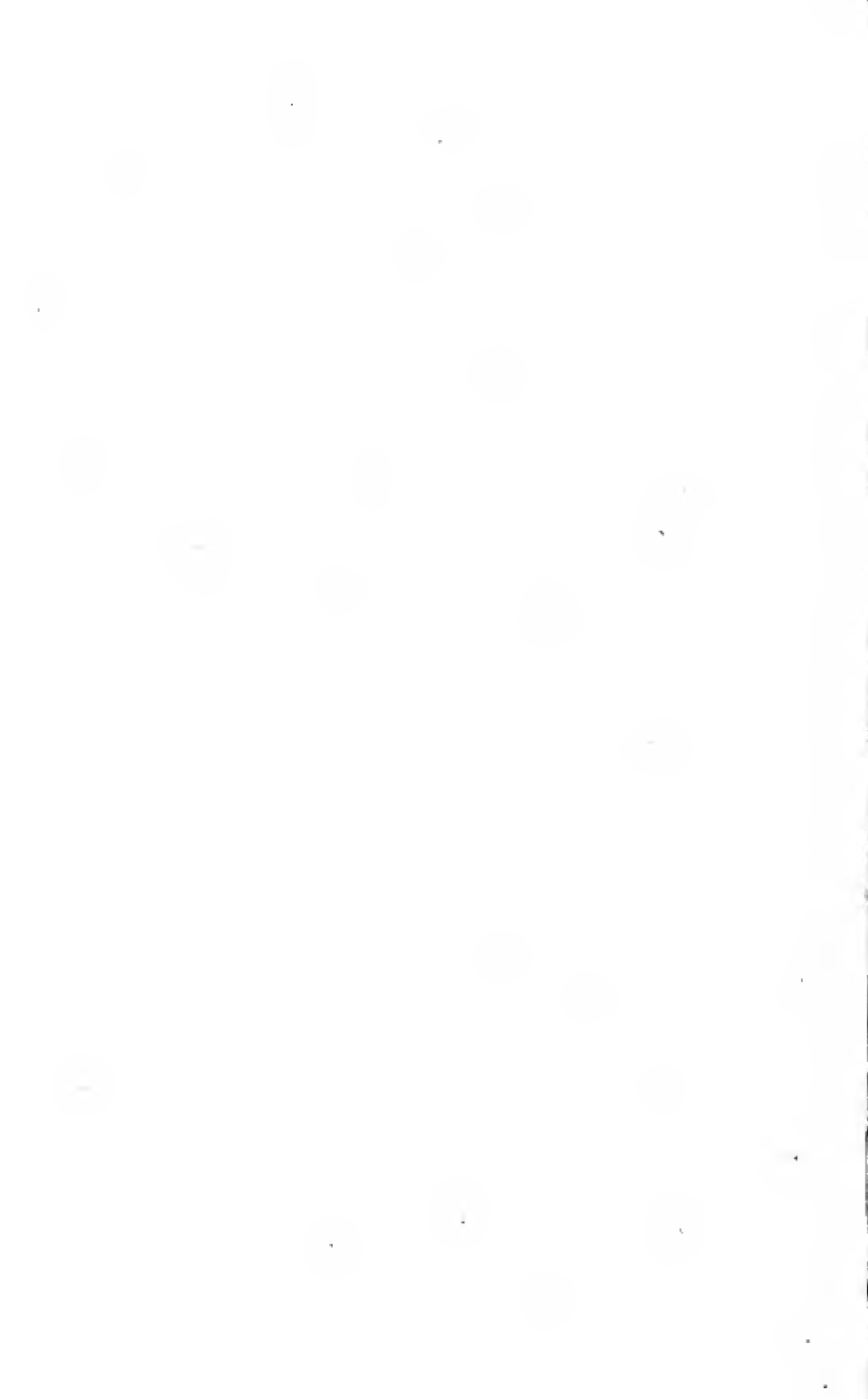
8, 9, 10, 11, 12, show the remains of the vault shafts of the cloister built by Abbot Frithe (1849-1871). The Decorated windows of the north aisle are part of the work.

⁷ The position of the Norman tower arch is at G, 7, in the plan.

⁸ Transactions, Meeting of the Inst. at Bristol, p. 200.



Sherborne Minster,
Bay of the Nave.



of the artist, perhaps, more beautiful than a restoration of the same porch, Normanised to the very point of the gable," now represents the conviction of the majority of the architects, antiquaries, and artists, who inspected it upon occasion of the late meeting of the Archæological Institute.

We may now examine the remains of the church of Albalowes, as shown in the plan.⁹ These consist of the lower part of the long wall, *q, v*, which bounded its aisle on the north, and of the four respond piers, *q, r, s, t*, which are engrafted into the west front of the church. In Mr. Petit's view of the west end, at the beginning of this paper, a portion of the long wall is seen at the left hand, and three of the ruined respond piers. The style of these remains is late Decorated or Early Perpendicular. The south respond, *t*, is the most perfect, being the only one that retains a portion of the springing of the arch.¹ They are all in a very decayed state; but they show that four similar and parallel arches abutted against the west wall of the church. The long wall, now reduced to the office of a high garden wall, has a series of projections, *r, s, t, u*, from its southern face; the plan of one of which is given at fig. 3, in the margin of the general plan. In the centre of each is a shaft, the original capital of which sustained the roof-frame of the side aisles, and the recessed wall faces between are the sill walls of the side aisle windows, arranged in the same manner as those in the inside of the minster.² But this wall terminates eastward at *g* with the lower part of a respond, exactly answering to *q*, and showing that here was a high arch, opening into the space, *v*, which is at present hemmed in on the north by the restored gable of the monastic hall, usually termed the

⁹ In a Plan of Sherborne, taken from actual survey by J. Ladd, 1735, said by Hutchins to have been in his time in possession of the Governors of the Alms House, and of which a reduced copy is engraved in his County History, the site of Albalowes is labelled "Ruins of a church or chapel." From this we may conclude that considerable remains were then standing.

¹ A plan of this respond is given in the general plan, fig. 2.

² The north aisle of the minster nave excepted, for that is perfectly plain; the south aisle, and the aisles of the presbytery have the recessed sills in question. An instance of a western appendage to a

church somewhat similar to Albalowes occurs at Great Yarmouth, where, in 1830, it was determined by the young men of the town to erect an entirely new building 107 ft. long N. to S., and 47 ft. wide E. to W., at the west end of the great church, to be called the Bachelors' Aisle. Foundations were laid, but the structure proceeded slowly; and it was ultimately abandoned in consequence of the plague, in 1848. It served as a quarry for many years to the town. The foundations were uncovered some years ago, and the plan is given by Mr. Seddon. Vide Transactions of the Institute of British Architects, 1864, p. 75.

Refectory, and is completely open to the garden on the west.

But this arch, *q*, *g*, authorises us to suppose that the arch which sprang from *t*, the corresponding respond to *q*, was similarly arranged with respect to the south aisle wall. Thus, *r* and *s* being assumed as the abutments of a range of pier arches, we obtain a church with a centre and two side aisles,³ as shown in the outline.

The arch *t* freely opens to the space *w*. But the original disposal of these spaces *v* and *w* must remain a mystery. They may have been enclosed as chapels, which appears to be the most probable supposition.

The long space *v*, *w*, was apparently arranged for the purpose of freeing the parish church from immediate contact with the west end of the minster, by serving the purpose of a vestibule common to the two. A reredos, *w*, *x*, with lateral screens, probably received the parish altar, and thus *v*, *w*, would become a continuation of the side aisles like a procession path, and an imitation of the arrangement of the east end of the minster itself. This path would give free access to the great western door, and to the lateral doors of the minster, and also to the chapels *v*, *w*, and even the latter may have been a porch.

The lateral door, *u*, was manifestly that which acquired so much importance in the dispute, as will appear below.⁴ But the traces of another lateral door may be seen at *y*.

The great Perpendicular window of the west front seems at first sight to make the abutment of the roof of Alhalowes church impossible. We know that this window was part of the works of Abbot Ramesunne eighty or ninety years after Alhalowes was built. I am informed that until the restoration the lower panels of the tracery were blank panels. The original ridge of Alhalowes roof probably reached only about half way up the clerestory wall at the minster, and the Perpendicular architect would alter it by sloping it downwards to the new window sill, or hipping it, as the term is, so as to allow free light to the window. This device is commonly employed, as for example at the junction of the Lady chapel with the high east window of Gloucester Cathedral.

³ The width of the centre aisle is 18 ft. 2 in., of the north aisle 14 ft. 6 in., and of the south aisle 18 ft. 10 in.

⁴ Vide p. 108.

Having now described the minster and the church of Alhalowes, I will endeavour to elucidate the history of that church, and the quarrel between the monks and the parishioners to which it gave rise. This dispute has been the theme of every historian of the minster, from Leland to the excellent Handbook of the present vicar. My only apology for reviving this oft-told tale is the fortunate acquisition of a document, which appears to me to clear up much of the ambiguity that hangs about the details of the affair.

The document is no other than the "Ordinance made between the abbot and convent and the parishioners,"⁵ discovered apparently by Hutchins, the laborious and indefatigable historian of the county, in Bishop Nevill's Register at Salisbury, and of which he has given an English abstract. But this turns out to be unfortunately erroneous in several particulars, and omits important details. He has also misdated it one year too early.

As no documentary evidence can be thoroughly interpreted without possessing it in its original language, and still less through the medium of a translated abstract, I was induced, when preparing this memoir, to take steps for obtaining a complete copy of the original deed.

I have much pleasure in expressing my thanks to the Dean of Salisbury for his obliging assistance in carrying out my request, and also especially to James Hussey, Esq., who most kindly took the trouble of transcribing from Bishop Nevill's Register the entire document. This I have printed in the Appendix, No. I, and will now present to my readers a literal translation of the whole. It will be found, on perusal, to give a vivid and most interesting picture of the manners of the time, and of the jealousies then existing between parish priests, monks, and laity, as well as clear evidence relating to the church of Alhalowes.

"ORDINANCE MADE BY ROBERT (NEVILL), BISHOP OF SARUM,
BETWEEN THE CONVENT OF THE MONASTERY OF SHIR-
BORNE AND THE PARISHIONERS THERE.

To every child of the holy mother church, who may inspect these presents, and especially to those who are interested in their matter or may be in future, we, Robert, by

⁵ Hutchins' Dorsetshire, 2nd edit. vol. iv. p. 96.

Divine permission Bishop of Sarum, offer salutation through Him who is the true salvation of all.

We have received from those religious men the Abbot and convent of Shirborne, in our diocess, a serious accusation or complaint, to the effect that notwithstanding a baptismal font has existed within the nave of the church of the aforesaid monastery from the beginning and primeval foundation thereof,—in which font every infant of the town and parish of the said Shirborne has received baptism from a time beyond which the memory of man extendeth not,—yet certain parishioners there, namely, Richard Howell, Thomas Draper, John Toker, Walter Paskuly, and John Aysheley, and others their confederates, about eight in number, casting behind them the fear of God, have constructed and caused to be set up a new font in the *inferior part of the aforesaid church, where the parishioners are wont to hear divine service*, and outside the accustomed place (A), doing this of their own rashness, contrary to our prohibition to them concerning this matter, and to the no small prejudice and trouble of the monastery. For this cause, and on account of the ringing of the parish bells for matins, also because of the *narrow passage of the doorway in the intermediate wall at its south part, between the parishioners place and the body (corpus) of the church of the monastery aforesaid (B)*, grave dissension arose between the abbot and convent and certain of the aforesaid parishioners, when the procession to the font in the church of the said monastery took place at Easter and at Pentecost.

Wherefore on the part of the said religious men we were humbly requested to provide a suitable remedy in this matter. Desiring to be certified of the truth of the premises, we visited the monastery and town of Shirborne in person. There, in the Abbots' Hall, on the 12th November of the subscribed year (1436), appeared before us John Bazett, John Kaylewey, Richard Rochett, and John Sprottert, on the part and in the name of all the parishioners, besides other persons, to the number of one hundred or more; and earnestly petitioned that we would deign to restore the baptismal font of the church of the said monastery, and all other matters above recited, to their antient use and pristine condition in the *body or nave (c) (in corpore seu navi)* of the church of the said monastery.

A proclamation was then made in the vulgar tongue

before all those present, that if any one either for his own interest, or that of the parishioners of the parish of Shirborne aforesaid, desired to oppose or contradict the aforesaid petition, he was now to declare it. But no opposition or contradiction was made, either particular or general.

And because, by the inquisition we made in this matter, we found every particular in the said complaint to be true.

Considering, moreover, the great prejudice and injury that might accrue to the monastery in future by the erection of the new font above mentioned, and also that nothing ought to be changed without urgent cause, which has been established by long custom. Also having duly weighed the advice of our counsel learned in the law, and assisting us in this judgment :

We will, and order, and by the tenor of these presents with the concurrence and expressed wish of the abbot and convent, and of all the parishioners above mentioned, do decree :

(1.) That the said font which, with daring rashness has been newly set up, be utterly destroyed and removed, and carried out of the church by those who caused it to be made. This removal of the font and of its materials should have been put into immediate execution under our own inspection.

(2.) The ringing of the bells to matins for the parishioners throughout the whole year shall be made after the sixth hour has been struck by the *clocka* or *horologium* of the monastery,⁶ and not before, except on the solemn feasts, viz., Allsaints, Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter.

(3.) Also the baptismal font of the monastery shall be set up and replaced in its old and accustomed position, and all infants born or to be born in the said town shall, as of old, be baptized therein.

(4.) The intermediate door and entrance for the procession of the parishioners to the font, shall be enlarged and

⁶ . . . "horam sextam per clockam seu horologium monasterii signatum." The word *Clocka* or *Cloeca*, &c. in Ducange is explained as "*cloche*," a *Bell*, and this is the original meaning of it. But, in the present case, it is a bell struck by a clock, for the sixth hour is to be indicated or pointed out by the abbey clock or horo-

loge. Clocks striking hours are mentioned in 1330, and were therefore common a century afterwards. But this is an early instance of the application of the word *clocka*, which has now completely superseded the ancient meaning, to the machine instead of the bell.

arched; so as to give a more ample space, and bring it to its original form.

(5.) The manner and form of the procession and other ceremonies about the font are to be observed in the old accustomed manner.

(6.) There shall be made, at the expense of the monastery, an intermediate partition in the nave of the monastic church (*ecclesiæ monasterialis*), close to the choir of the monks, so that there shall be a distinct separation between the monks and the aforesaid parishioners.

(7.) This replacement of the font and enlargement of the door must be effectually completed before Christmas-day next.

All and every of these premises must be faithfully observed, as well by the abbot and the convent, as by the parishioners of the said parish, under pain of the greater excommunication.

Given at our manor of Remmesbury, on the eighth day of January, A. D. MCCCCXXXVI,⁷ and in the tenth year of our consecration."

From this deed we gather, from (A), that the parishioners of Sherborne were wont to hear divine service in a place termed the *inferior part of the church of the monastery*.

Next, from (B) and (C), that there was an *intermediate wall between this place of the parishioners and the nave of the monastic church*. Therefore the place of the parishioners was outside the nave, and not formed by a mere screen or partition cutting off a part of the nave.

Body is the term employed in the clause (B), but from (C) we learn that in accordance with universal practice, the writers of this document considered it to be synonymous with *nave*.

Further, it appears from (B), that there was a narrow door in the south part of the intermediate wall, which communi-

⁷ This date belongs to the ecclesiastical year, which began on the 25th March, and in modern style would be 1437. The investigation in the Abbot's Hall took place on 12th November, 1436, and the Bishop's ordinance published on the 8th of the following January, both being in the 15th year of Henry VI., and not the 14th, as Hutchins says. In his abstract

he states the manner and nature of the quarrel very obscurely, and omits the fact of the Bishop's holding an inquest in the Abbot's Hall, as well as the order for the destruction and removal of the new illegal font, and the fact that the contracted door was at the south part of the intermediate wall.

cated between the parishioners' place and the nave of the monastic church.

Thus the intermediate wall must have stood north and south, and could have been no other than the west front of the nave.

Consequently the *place of the parishioners* on the other side of this wall, was the structure which is termed the church of *Alhalowes*.

In fact, the *inferior*, or lower end of the nave, is necessarily the west end when the term is used not with reference to altitude, but to dignity. As we say, the upper and lower end of a table, or a room, so the upper, or *superior* end of a church is that where the altar is placed, and the opposite is the inferior, or lower end.

It may be perceived from this document, that the monks were as much or more at fault than the parishioners in this matter. For although the bishop begins his ordinance in a tone that favors the convent, and imperatively condemns the parishioners for setting up a font of their own without due ecclesiastical authority, and also for ringing their bells at times inconvenient to the convent, it appears from the latter clauses that the monks had annoyed the parishioners by removing the old font from its original position in the nave, to one that was inconvenient to them, and also that they had altered the doorway through which their baptismal processions were wont to pass, and made it much narrower.

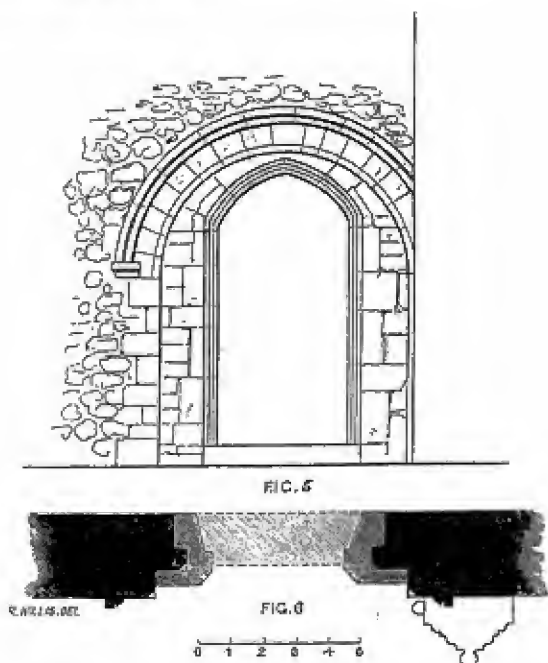
The clause (B) identifies the narrowed doorway with the door in the west front (U in the general plan, fig. 1), which opens to the south aisle of the nave. This doorway is represented in plan and elevation in the engravings on the following page, and is also shown in Mr. Petit's view of the west end. It is now completely walled up, but the arrangement of its arches corresponds so remarkably with the description in the clauses (B) and (4), as to leave no doubt of its being the very door which was complained of.

The plan (fig. 6) taken at a level just above the Norman impost, shows the original Norman doorway in a black tint, the inserted doorway in a lighter tint, and the wall which closes it in a still lighter tint bounded by dotted lines.

The only visible parts of the Norman doorway, and of the inserted pointed doorway, are those which are seen in the

elevation (fig. 5), and on the inside of the church the wall is plastered and flat. I have inserted in the plan (fig. 6), those portions of the Norman and pointed doorways which are buried in the wall, in accordance with other examples of doorways, to make the fact of the narrowing of the passage by the insertion of the pointed arch, more clear.⁸

The external face of the wall which blocks up the pointed arch is at present wholly occupied by a large monumental tablet to the memory of Benjamin Vowell and his three wives,⁹ who died in 1783.



Elevation and Plan of the South-Western Doorway of the Nave.

It appears from the Bishop's ordinance, that the parishioners were divided in opinion respecting the new font, and quarrelling amongst themselves; and as he had given to the monks nearly a year to carry out the amendment and removal of the annoyances which arose on their side

⁸ Fig. 4, in the margin of the general plan, is a section of the continuous moulding of the inserted doorway.

⁹ It is worth remarking that this name is apparently the same as that of Richard

Fowell, who joined in setting up the new font, so that possibly a descendant of the malcontent who was aggrieved at the narrowing of the doorway, has blocked it up altogether.

towards the parishioners, we may easily imagine that delays and evasions on both sides helped to bring about the well-known violent termination of these disputes, which is recorded by Leland, as follows :—

“This was the Cause of the Abolition of the Paroch Chirch there. The Monkes and the Tounes Men felle at variaunce bycause the Tounes Men tooke privilege to use the Sacrament of Baptisme in the Chapelle of Al-Halowes. Whereupon one Walter Gallor a stoute Bocher, dwelling yn Shirburn, defacid clene the Fontstone, and after the variaunce growing to a playne sedition and the Townes-Menne by the Mene of an Erle of Huntendune, lying yn those Quarters and taking the Townes-Mennes Part, and the Bisshop of Saresbyri the Monkes Part, a Preste of Al-Halowis shot a Shaft with fier into the Toppe of that Part of S. Marye Chirch that devidid the Est Part that the Monkes usid from (that) the Townes-Men usid : and this Partition chauncing at that Tyme to be thakkid yn the Rofe was sette a fier, and consequently al the hole Chirch, the Lede and Belles meltid, was defacid.” Leland’s Itin., vol. ii., f. 47.

It may be a question whether Walter Gallor was employed by the monks and the townsmen who supported their views, to deface the new illegal font, or whether he boldly destroyed the abbey font in revenge for the destruction of the new one. It appears to me that the first interpretation is the one which best agrees with the terms employed by Leland in his two memoranda. The first declares that the townsmen baptized in the Chapelle, “*whereupon* the Bocher defacid the Font stone.” The second (Itin., vol. iii., f. 90) runs thus :—“S Mary the Abbay Chirch sumtime a Paroche Chirch burnid a hunderith Yers or more sins, by a Sedition in the Toune *for a Font broken down* by a Boucher caullid Walter Gallor.”

In both, the sedition arises because the *inhabitants* are aggrieved by the butcher breaking a font, and the first memorandum shows that this destruction was meant to stop the baptism in the Chapel.

By comparing the ordinance with the several memoranda in which Leland alludes to the parish church and to Alhalowes, the history of the latter may be made tolerably clear.

The ordinance shows that, when it was written the

parishioners attended the ordinary services of the church in Alhalowes, but were compelled to baptize their children in the nave of the minster; and Leland writes that "the Body of the Abbey Chirch dedicate to our Lady servid ontill a hunderith Yeres syns for the chife Paroch Chirch of the Toun." Alhalowes was therefore in the condition of a *chapel*, having no parochial rights of baptism and sepulture. It is quite possible that the discontent of the parishioners arose in the first instance from their having been banished for the ordinary services from their ancient parish church in the nave when Alhalowes was built. Be that as it may, Leland's first mention of Alhalowes before the riot terms it the "*Chapelle* of Al-Halowes."

Then comes the riot, and the fire and the consequent rebuilding of the east end of the church, which must have driven the monks to establish their choir in the nave, and to consent to the legal transformation of Alhalowes chapel into the parish church, in order to get rid of the parishioners. This view explains Leland's assertion that the riot "was the *cause* of the Abolition of the Paroch Chirch" in the nave of the minster, and his subsequent memorandum that "after thys tyme Al-Halowes *Chirch* and not S Maryes was usid for the Paroch Chirch."

These notes were made at his first visit, about 1538; but the monastery was suppressed March 18, 1539. The church was granted by the king to Sir John Horsey, and by him sold to the parish; and this explains another note made by Leland, in the third volume of his *Itinerary*.¹ In this volume we find a series of concise memoranda recapitulating the history of the Abbey, and apparently written after a second visit, certainly after the above transactions. For amongst them is the third note relating to Alhalowes, as follows:—"Alhalowes Paroch Chirch pullid down alate and the Paroch Chirch made in our Lady Chirch at the Abbay." And there it has rested ever since.

We may now turn to the minster itself, and consider the effects of the fire.

The part which was thatched must have been the tower; and thus, any person standing on the roof of Alhalowes' chapel, would be in sight of it, and might have shot a fiery

¹ F. 90. Leland's *Itinerary* was begun about 1533, and presented complete to the king in 1546.

bolt into it. It may be remarked that in two of the bosses of the vault of the presbytery an arrow is carved, with its point directed eastward.

Leland qualifies or explains his assertion that the whole church was defaced, by saying that the "Fier came not to the chapelle of our Lady, by reason that it was of an older Building." Also that "The Porche of the south side of the Body of S Mary Chirch is an antique Peace of Work, and was not defacid with Fier, bycause it Stoode with a far lower Rofe than the Body of the Chirch did."

The extent of the damage to the church is also well defined by a licence² to acquire lands in mortmain to the value of 10*l.* a year on account of the fire (*vide* Appendix, No. II.), dated 24 Hen. VI. (1446), eight or nine years after the occurrence. This declares that "a sudden fire had lately³ consumed and devastated the choir and campanile of the monastery of Shirborn, together with the bells hanging therein and other buildings of the Abbot and convent."

As no mention is made of the nave in this preamble we may be assured that it was not in the least injured, for such preambles omit nothing that may tend to make the injuries appear as great as possible.

In conclusion, a few words must be said in reference to the general restoration of the church. It appears that the structure had in the first quarter of the present century exhibited settlements of an alarming character, which gradually increased, but led to no very decided results or repair until the late Mr. Carpenter was consulted in 1848, and the work of thorough restoration commenced in June, 1849, under his superintendence. The portion first undertaken included the nave and aisles, followed by the south transept, which required a new elaborate oak roof, and appears to have been completed, together with the repairs of the tower piers and south transept, before August 13, 1851, when a church festival was held to commemorate the restoration.

Of the total expenditure of this part of the work, amounting very nearly to fourteen thousand pounds, more

² This licence, for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of J. Burt, Esq., is referred to by Hutchins, p. 100.

³ "edificia . . . nuper per quoddam subitum incendium combusta." The dis-

crepancy between this phrase and the date of the document must be attributed to the legal delays interposed between the application for the licence and its issue.

than one-half was borne by Earl Digby, the impropiator of the manor and great tithes ; the remainder raised by subscriptions, donations, legacies, and other usual sources.

The restoration of the choir with its aisles and chapels remained untouched for five years. At length Mr. Wingfield Digby, having succeeded to the English estates of the late Earl Digby, undertook, with singular munificence, to complete, at his own cost, the restoration of the remainder of the church. He appointed Mr. W. Slater architect, under whose directions the work of the choir was carried out, at a cost of nearly eighteen thousand pounds, and the restoration festival took place on August 18, 1858.

These restorations have been carried out from the beginning in the most careful and judicious manner. The structure has been perfectly consolidated, from the foundations upwards ; the distinctive features of the masonry preserved so carefully, that every part of the church appears as if it had just left the hands of its original builders ; and the fragments of Norman and Early English work on the north side of the choir, and elsewhere, which mark the existence of previous arrangements, have been thoroughly respected and left untouched.

The restoration of ancient churches presents the difficulty of consistently maintaining the evidences of venerable antiquity, which connects them with the piety of our forefathers, and the history of the past ; while on the other hand, the sacred purposes of the building compel us to remove every symptom of decay or apparent neglect that might be misinterpreted into indifference to those purposes.

This difficulty appears to me to have been overcome in the case of Sherborne Minster with extraordinary ability and success.



APPENDIX.

I.) ORDINATIO INTER ABBATEM ET CONVENTUM MONASTERII DE SHIRBORNE ET PAROCHIANOS IBIDEM.—Reg. Nevill, f. 108.

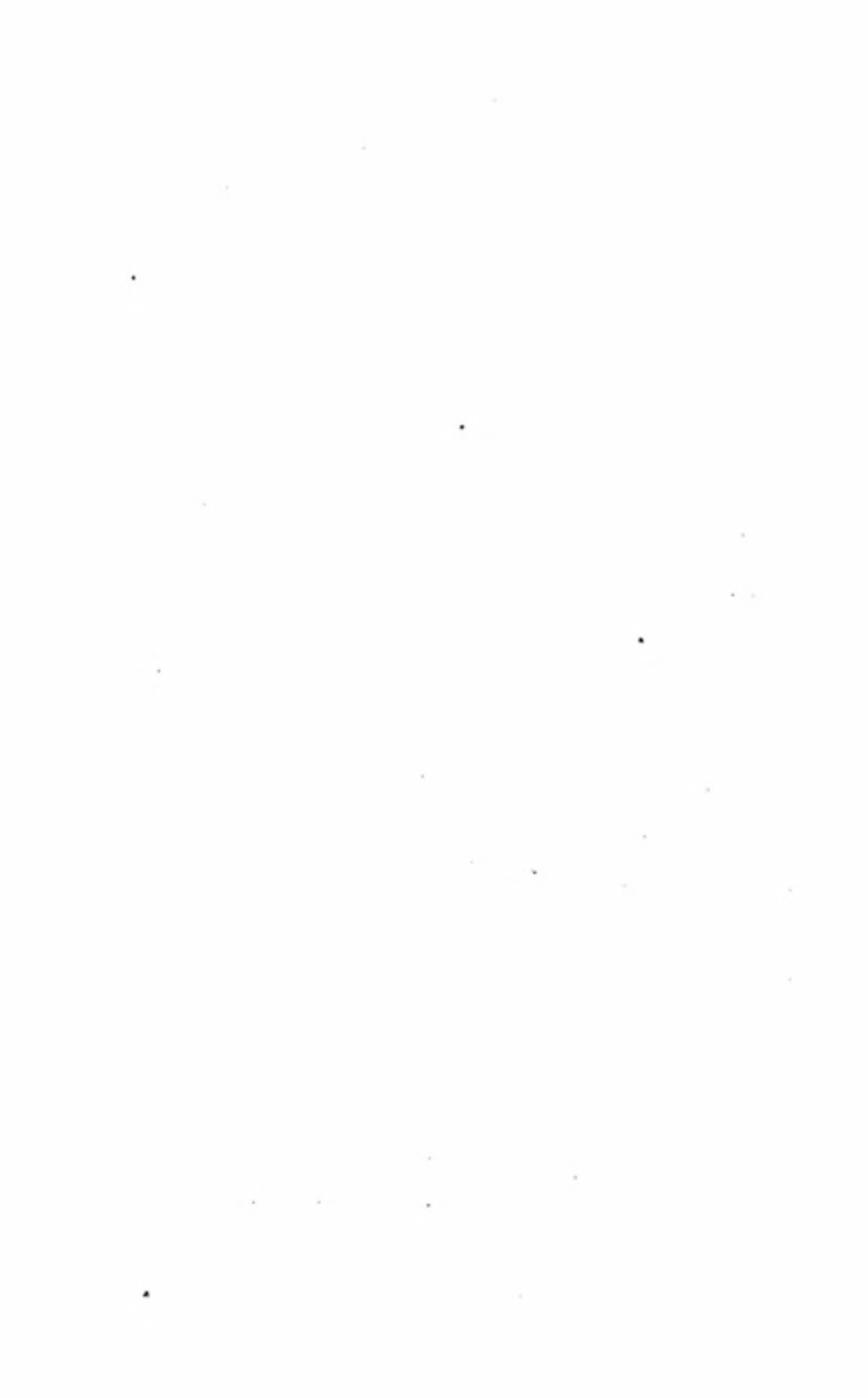
Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis presentes literas inspecturis, ac presertim illi vel illis quos presens tangerit negotium vel quomodolibet tangere poterit in futurum, Nos Robertus permissione divinâ Sarum Episcopus salutem in eo qui est omnium vera salus. Querelam religiosorum virorum Abbatis et conventus monasterii de Shirborne nostræ dioceseos gravem recepimus continentem quod licet infra navem ecclesiæ monasterii predicti ab exordio et primævâ foundatione ejusdem fons baptismalis extiterat erectus, in quo singuli infantes villæ et parochiæ de Shirborne predictæ, a tempore cujus contrarii memoria hominum non existit, lavacro regenerationis hactenus fuerant renati seu saltem ita renasci deberent, certum parochiani ibidem, videlicet, Ricardus Howell, Thomas Draper, Johannes Toker, Walterus Paskuly, et Johannes Aysheley, ac alii cum eisdem confederati circiter octo in numero, Dei timore postposito, alium fontem novum in inferiori parte ecclesiæ predictæ ubi parochiani divina servitia audire solent, et extra locum consuetum, propriâ temeritate contra prohibitionem etiam nostram eis in hac parte factam crexerunt et construxerunt, seu erigi procuraverunt, in dicti monasterii prejudicium non modicum et gravamen. Cujus pretextu et occasione etiam pulsationis campanarum parochialium ad matutinas, necnon super arto et stricto introitu ostii in muro intermedio in parte australi inter locum parochianorum et corpus ecclesiæ monasterii predicti, cum processione ad fontem in ecclesiâ dicti monasterii in festis Paschæ et Penthecostes faciendâ, inter abbatem et conventum ac certos parochianos predictos gravis suborta fuit materia dissensionis. Quare pro parte dictorum religiosorum virorum nobis humiliter fuit supplicatum sibi de remedio per nos in hac parte providendi oportuno. Cupientes igitur de premissis debite certiorari ad monasterium et villam de Shirborne predictum pretextu premissorum personaliter accessimus; ubi constituti coram nobis duodecimo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini infrascripto in Aulâ abbatis predicti Johannes Bazett, Johannes Kaylewey, Ricardus Rochett, et Johannes Sprotert, vice et nomine omnium parochianorum, et alii in multitudine copiosâ, videlicet, ad numerum centenarium et ultra, nobis omni instantiâ supplicarunt quatenus fontem baptismalem ecclesiæ dicti monasterii ac omnia alia superius recitata ad antiquum usum et statum pristinum in corpore seu navi ecclesiæ dicti monasterii reducere et reponere dignaremur; factâ deinde proclamatione in vulgari coram omnibus adtunc ibidem presentibus quod si quis pro interesse suo vel parochianorum parochiæ de Shirborne predictæ vellet aliquid opponere seu contradicere supplicationi et petitioni predictis, quod effectualiter opponeret seu reclamaret quicquid contradicere seu opponere in premissis vellet. Nullus tum contradictorum seu oppositorum apparuit ibidem in specie vel in genere. Et quia per inquisitionem quam fecimus in eâ parte diligentem invenimus singula contenta in dictâ querelâ fuisse et esse vera; considerantes insuper magnum prejudicium et injuriam per erectionem novi fontis supradicti dicto monasterio posse evenire in futuro, illudque non sine urgente causâ mutandum quod usus longevi observavit auctoritas; ponderatis primitus in hac parte ponderandis de consilio jurisperitorum nobis in hac parte assistantium, volumus, ordinamus et tenore presentium de consensu et voluntate expressis abbatis et conventus ac omnium parochianorum supradictorum decernimus dictum fontem sic noviter et ansu temerario erectum destrui penitus et

amoveri ac ab ecclesiâ asportari per eodem qui ipsum erigi fecerunt ; cujus quidem fontis amotio et ejusdem lapidum asportatio sub visu nostro incontinenti facta fuerit cum effectu, pulsationemque campanarum ad matutinas per totum annum exceptis festis solempnibus, videlicet, Omnium Sanctorum, Natalis Domini, Epiphaniæ et Paschæ pro parochianis fieri post horam sextam per clockam seu horologium prefati monasterii signatam, et non prius ; necnon fontem baptismalem ejusdem monasterii collocari et repositi in loco antiquo et consueto, infantesque natos seu nascituros dictæ villæ prout antiquitus fieri consuevit baptisari debere in eodem ; ostiumque intermedium supradictum introitumque ejusdem pro processione parochianorum ad fontem ingrediendum latiori spatio ampliari et archuari et in formam ab olim habitam reduci, modum insuper et formam processionis aliæque solempnia circa fontem more solito observari ; clausum etiam intermedium in navi ecclesiæ monasterialis juxta chorum monachorum ita quod sit quedam separatio distincta inter monachos et parochianos predictos fieri volumus sumptibus et expensis dicti monasterii ; capta ad hoc temporis commoditate, et dicti fontis repositionem et ostii prelibati ampliacionem citra festum Natalis Domini proxime futurum effectualiter agi et fieri ordinamus. Premissa igitur omnia et singula tam per dictum abbatem et conventum quam per parochianos parochiæ predictæ inviolabiliter observari volumus decernimus statuimus et ordinamus in futuro sub penâ excommunicationis majoris quam in contravenientes omnes et singulos comminati fuimus fulminare. Quæ omnia et singula universitati vestræ tenore presentium innotescimus. In cujus rei testificationem sigillum nostrum ad causas presentibus duximus apponendum. Datum in manerio nostro de Remmesbury octavo die mensis Januarii Anno Domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} tricesimo sexto et nostræ consecrationis anno decimo.

(II.) ROT. PAT. 24 HEN. VI., pt. 1, m. 6. (1446.)

De licencia adquirendi Shirborn'. Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis quod ex parte dilectorum nobis in Christo Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii de Shirborn' in Comitatu Dors', quod de fundacione inclitorum progenitorum nostrorum et nostro patronatu existit, nobis est lamentabiliter intimatum qualiter chorus et campanile monasterii predicti et campanæ in eodem campanili pendentes aliæque edificia eorundem Abbatis et Conventus nuper per quoddam subitum incendium combusta et totaliter devastata extiterunt ; iidemque Abbas et Conventus ex hac causa adeo depauperati fuerunt quod onera eis necessario indies incumbencia absque gratia nostra speciali nequeunt supportare. Velimus pietatis intuitu cum eisdem nostros specialis gratiam et favorem benignissime impartiri. Nos premissa considerantes de gratia nostra speciali et absque fine ad opus nostrum percipienda concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis Abbati et Conventui et successoribus suis quod ipsi terras tenementa et redditus cum pertinenciis ad valorem decem librarum per annum tam de feodo suo proprio quam alieno que de nobis non tenentur in capite adquirere possunt et tenere sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum, statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante ; dumtamen per inquisitiones inde debite capiendas et in Cancellariam nostram vel heredum nostrorum rite retornandas compertum sit quod id fieri possit absque dampno seu prejudicio nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium primo die Martii.

Per breve de privato sigillo, &c.





Sherborne Minster.

View from the South Transept looking into the Nave.

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Woodcuts engraved for the memoir on Sherborne, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, first published in the Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, at Bristol, 1853, and employed for the illustration of the present memoir by his kind and liberal permission :—

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This last and most valuable sketch, made before the restorations were carried out, shows a stripe of Perpendicular panelling engrafted into the great Norman cylindrical shaft which occupies the south-east angle of the south-west tower-pier. It appears to have been the beginning of an intended conversion of the whole surface of the pier into similar panelling, in the same manner as in the piers of the nave. This curious specimen was unfortunately destroyed when the pier was restored. I was informed that the pier was in so ruinous a condition that it was necessary to underpin and almost rebuild it, and that the stripe was not replaced, because it was thought that it would give a slovenly and unfinished appearance to the renewed surface. Its value, as a piece of evidence to the gradual process of the conversion of this pier from one style to another, ought to have preserved it. As the joints and beds of the masonry are not indicated in this slight sketch, it is impossible to discover whether these panellings were constructed by simply cutting them in the Norman ashlar as it stood, or by removing the ashlar, stone by stone, and replacing it with new masonry. The stones which contained the arch-heads were, as it appears to me, necessarily new; but the vertical rectilinear mouldings and panel-surfaces might have been, and probably were, worked out of the Norman ashlar as it stood.

CORFE CASTLE.¹

AMONGST the many interesting examples of medieval military architecture with which Great Britain abounds, there is perhaps no one more deserving of notice than the stately ruin of Corfe Castle. Crowning a lofty isolated eminence which rises in the midst of one of Nature's gigantic cuttings, it commands the only level opening in the ridge of chalk hills which stretches from sea to sea, and isolates the remote and secluded valley of Purbeck from the rest of the county. This remarkable opening forms, as it were, a natural gateway, which the Anglo-Saxons denominated *Corvensgate*, or *Corvesgate*, a name obviously compounded of their words *ceorfan*, to cut, and *geat*, a gate. It was, in fact, the gate or entrance to the valley, cut through the hill.

Whether Corfe is regarded in association with some striking events in history, or as a specimen of medieval military architecture, or simply as a picturesque object, it is alike equally interesting. Hutchins, the industrious topographer of Dorsetshire, published a short account of it in 1774, but his notice is meagre and unsatisfactory, and his few remarks upon its architecture show that his knowledge of that branch of the subject was not greater than that of his contemporaries. A third edition of the *History of Dorsetshire*, now in the course of publication, contains much additional information relating to Corfe Castle, both illustrative of its construction and ancient history, and descriptive of its present state.²

¹ A Memoir read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute held at Dorchester, August, 1865.

² The enlarged account of Corfe Castle in the new edition of Hutchins was contributed by the writer of the present memoir. It contains more details than the limits of this Journal would admit. When it was determined to hold a congress of the Archaeological Institute at Dorchester, in August last, it was hoped that the late Mr. Hartshorne would

have favoured the meeting with a memoir on Corfe Castle; and there is reason to believe that, had his life been spared, he would have done so. His extensive acquaintance with the best examples of castellated remains, and his critical knowledge of the subject, would have rendered such a memoir highly valuable. It is remarkable, however, that Corfe is the only important castle in England which he had not visited.

The earliest notice which we have of this spot is contained in some Anglo-Saxon charters in the chartulary of Shaftesbury Abbey.³ The first of these is a grant from King Edred, in the year 948, to a religious woman named Ælfthryth, of eight manses of land in Purbeck. This Ælfthryth has been thought to have been the second abbess of Shaftesbury;⁴ and though the name of Corfe does not appear in this charter, it does in a subsequent one of the same king, which is dated in 955, and evidently relates to the same lands, though with some variation of description and some additions. The boundaries of the lands thus granted are, as usual in Anglo-Saxon charters, set out with considerable minuteness, and their identification is of importance, as will hereafter be shown, in helping us indirectly to ascertain the date at which a castle was first erected at Corfe. Pains have been taken to trace these boundaries on the spot. Some of the names made use of in describing the landmarks still survive in a modified form, and from this and other evidence which it would be tedious to explain in detail, there appear to be sufficient grounds for assuming, not only that the bounds of the lands comprised in these Anglo-Saxon charters are identical, or very nearly so, with the limits of what became the manor of Kingston, belonging to the abbey of Shaftesbury, but that they comprehend the site on which Corfe Castle is built.

Less than thirty years after the date of the last-mentioned charter, Corfe became the scene of "the foulest deed," as the Saxon Chronicle designates it, "which was ever committed by the Saxons since they landed in Britain." The murder of King Edward the Martyr, which, according to Brompton, took place in the year 981, is the most striking passage in the history of Corfe; but we know of it only from the chroniclers, who all seem to have drawn their information from the same sources, or to have borrowed from some one original authority. It is related to have occurred at Corvesgate by William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Simon of Durham, Hoveden, Florence of Worcester, Roger de Wendover, the Saxon Chronicle, Ralph Higden, John of Peterborough, and Knighton; but we have no con-

³ MS. Harl., No. 61. Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici.

⁴ Hutchins's List of the Abbesses of

Shaftesbury, Hist. of Dorset, 2nd ed., vol. 2, p. 414.

OCCIDENS



Corfe Castle. 1586.

F. G. Wetherill, Facsimilist, 17 Mill Street, Concord, N. H.

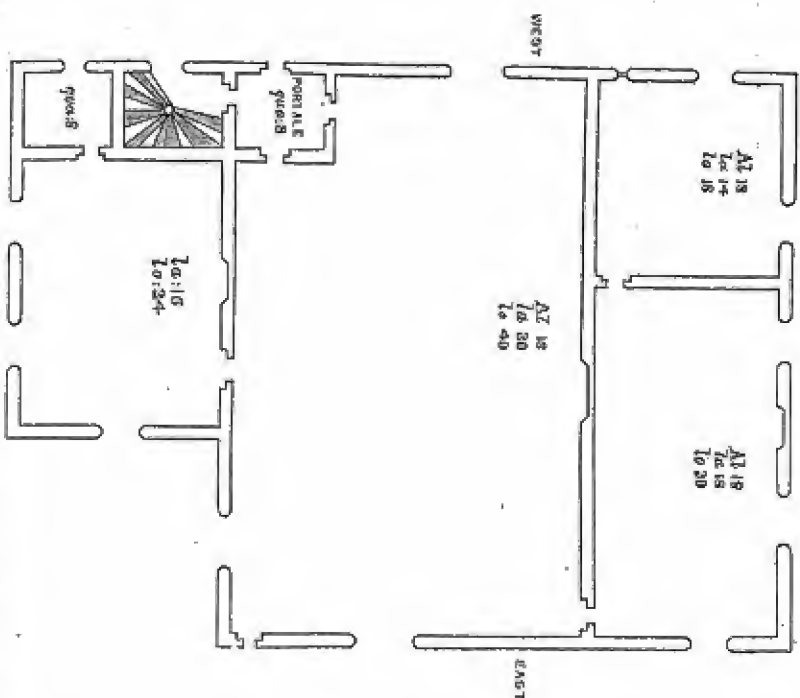
MERIDIES

destroyed. These plans seem to have been made for Sir Christopher Hatton when he owned the castle, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and they are highly interesting and useful, for those which relate to the keep enable us pretty clearly to make out the arrangement of that part of the building. Copies on a reduced scale are here given.⁶

The lower or basement floor seems to have been partially sunk below the level of the surrounding ground. It was entered on the west side, but it is probable that this entrance was not original. The wall has been evidently cut through, and a portion of the door jamb still left appears by the masonry to be an insertion. Here, therefore, were the cellars or stores, but they were not vaulted, as the holes which received the beams and joists are still apparent. An external staircase, placed parallel to and supported by the western wall, led up to a square turret, which was entered on a level with the first floor. This turret was attached to but projected beyond the main wall of the keep, and within it were stairs leading to the second floor. From this staircase all the principal apartments were approached. A substantial wall, running east and west, seems to have divided the interior of the keep into two portions, as is the case in the Tower of London. In the first and second floors, represented in the woodcuts, Plans A and B, were two grand apartments, one over the other. The lower chamber, which perhaps was the great hall, was, according to the old plan, 42 ft. long by 28 ft. wide, and 24 ft. high; whilst the room above it, owing to the diminished thickness of the walls, was 49 ft. by 30 ft., and 18 ft. high. The former room must have been gloomy, as it had only one small window to the west, and two to the east. The upper apartment was more cheerful, as it had an additional window to the south, which was no doubt enlarged to its present size at a comparatively recent period. The dimensions marked on the old plans fairly correspond with the measurements of the existing remains, so far as they can be made out. The basement internally is 43 ft. 6 in. from east to west, and seems to have measured about 50 ft. from north to south, though it is difficult, in that direction, to ascertain

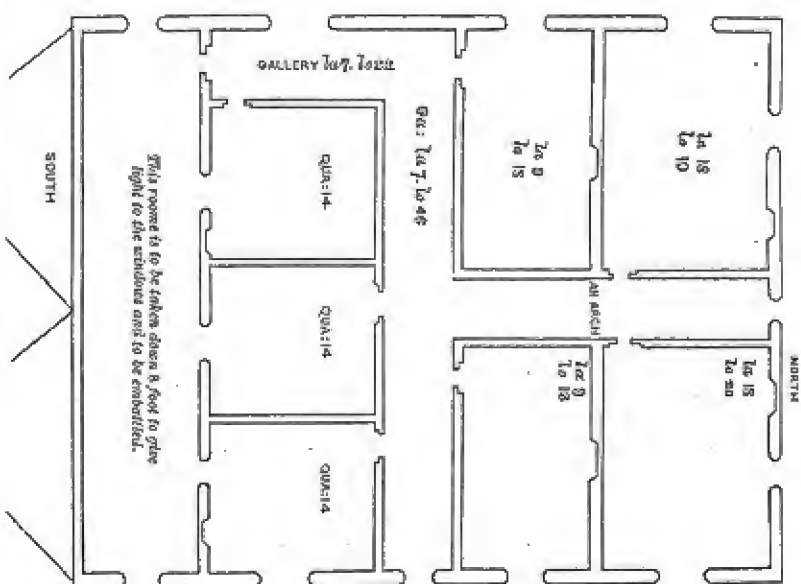
⁶ The engravings of the plans marked A, B, and C were executed for the new edition of Hutchins's History of Dorset,

and have been very obligingly lent by the editors of that work for the illustration of the present memoir.



Plan B.

1a Ground Plans of the Great Tower of Corfe Castle.



Plan C.

Reduced from the originals at Kingston Lacey, Dorset.

its precise extent. By the side of the large room on the first floor, were three smaller rooms facing the north; and above, there were two of larger dimensions. A third floor (plan c) was approached by a newel stair, at the west end of the southern wing, and another newel stair in the thickness of the wall, at the south-east corner of the main building, seems to have led to the battlement and roof. The third floor was divided into seven apartments, with their connecting corridors or passages. On a close examination of the building, it appears most probable that the third floor was an addition of comparatively recent date, and that it took the place of a ridge-and-valley roof which originally occupied the space within the upper portion of the ancient walls. When the addition was made, the former steep roof was no doubt superseded by a lead flat, and thus the accommodation of an additional floor was obtained.

In the reign of Henry III. mention is made of the chapel of St. Mary in the Tower of Corfe, and the sheriff frequently accounts, both in that and the succeeding reign, for the payment of 50s., the annual stipend of the chaplain who served therein.⁷ This chapel may perhaps have been in an upper floor, like that in the Tower of London, but no traces of it have been discovered either in the ruins above-mentioned or in the ground plans.

The masonry of the keep is of the usual Norman character. It is ashlar both within and without. The stones are large, and often nearly square, and the joints are mostly wide and coarse. Some of the jambs and arches with their imposts are still visible, but they are of the plainest description. Indeed, there is little or no attempt at ornament, unless we reckon as such an arcade that runs round the external faces of the upper story. This arcade seems to have had no practical use in that part of the building which still remains standing, for there is no appearance of it in the inside. It could not therefore have been made, in that part, subservient to an admission of light. An arcade of a similar character is found in a portion of the south side of the Tower of London.

The southern wing is now one story lower than the

⁷ Mag. rot. pipæ.

building on which it leans, but it was originally higher. It was reduced to about its present height by Sir Christopher Hatton, in order to admit light to the upper floor of the keep, as appears by a contemporary note written on the original ground plan. The ground floor consists of two small apartments, and a corridor vaulted with stone separating them from the rest of the keep. These apartments measure respectively 9 ft. 1 in. by 7 ft. 2 in., and 9 ft. 3 in. by 7 ft. 3 in. The eastern one is entirely open to the corridor, the opening being spanned by a semicircular arch. It has a window looking towards the east, the only original Norman window remaining in the castle. This window is square-headed on the outside, has no mouldings, and is very small. The opening within is widely splayed, and has a semicircular head. A similar window in the south wall has been blocked up, and is not apparent on the outside. The western of these two apartments is entered by a square-headed stone doorway, and has no remains of original windows. A modern window on the south side may possibly have replaced an original one of the Norman period; but if so, the latter did not range with that in the adjacent room. The last-mentioned apartment, and the room above it, were probably the "gardrobes in the high tower" mentioned in a survey of the castle in the 19th year of Edw. II.³ Popular tradition has supposed that underneath these two small apartments were dungeons or prisons—a notion which seems at first sight to be countenanced by the fact that the masonry below them is carried far down the face of the precipice on the brink of which the keep is built, as if it enclosed some dark chamber once approached from above, but now filled up with rubbish. There are likewise joist holes nearly on a level with the ground line of the corridor, which once must have carried floors, as if covering some chambers underneath. It is manifest, however, that some of these joist holes were made at a period subsequent to the original construction, and there can be little doubt that at least the western of the two apartments just described, and probably also the one above it, were in reality used as gardrobes. It is not very probable, therefore, that dungeons would be placed underneath them.

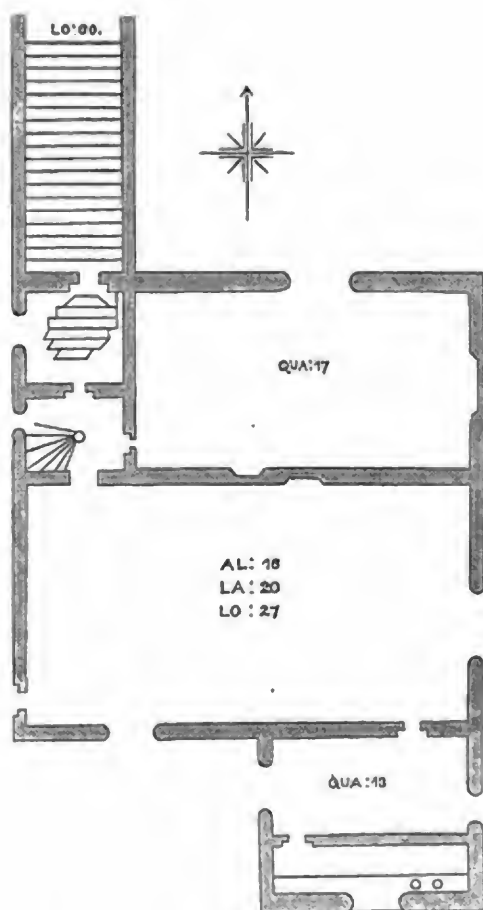
³ *Inquis. ad quod damnum*, 19 Ed. II. r. 135.

It is not impossible that the plan D, which is also here given, may represent the "king's chamber near the kitchen in the Gloriette, with the garde robe adjoining," mentioned in the fabric rolls hereafter referred to, but no trace of these apartments can now be found amongst the ruins, and their situation must be left to conjecture.

We may pass unnoticed the supposition of Hutchins, that Corfe Castle was built by King Edgar; but documentary evidence exists, which, though contradictory, may, on the whole, be considered conclusive, that a castle was first built here by William the Conqueror; and, if there is nothing in the construction, masonry, or general features of such portions of the keep as still remain, which it can be shown could not have been the Conqueror's work, there seems no reason why we should refuse to him the credit of being the founder of this magnificent structure. It is no doubt hazardous to advance such a theory at the present day, when a disposition prevails to assign to ancient buildings more recent dates than those which would formerly have been attributed to them. Attention, however, is invited to such documentary facts as have been discovered, which point to the Conqueror as the builder of a castle here, and it may then be considered whether there are any features in the building, as we now see it, which could not be his work. Of course negative testimony to this extent can only be derived from a close examination and study of other buildings ascertained to be of this period; but, though William is known to have built very many castles in England, few of them remain to the present day, too few, in fact, to afford conclusive evidence of a negative character, especially when we consider that masonry is not always an infallible criterion of date, because it may be greatly modified by local circumstances.

It has been suggested that even if the Conqueror built a castle at Corfe, it was of timber and not of stone; but there is no evidence in support of such a theory. William may have built wooden castles, but it is admitted that he also built some of stone, the Tower of London being one. If therefore he did build some fortresses of the more durable material, on what grounds can it be contended that Corfe was not one of them? The supply of stone in the Isle of Purbeck was unlimited in quantity and easy of access, and it

CORFE CASTLE.



Plan D.

Possibly the "King's Chamber." From the original preserved at Kingston Lacey.

was probably obtained at moderate cost ; while it is evident from Domesday Book that timber could not be abundant. So scarce indeed was the latter material there in the thirteenth century, that nearly all which was used at that period in repairing or enlarging the castle was brought from the neighbouring county of Hants.

We have no mention of a castle at Corfe till after the Norman conquest. The murder of Edward the Martyr is said by Knighton to have been committed at the "hospicium" of Elfrida, and the author of Brompton's Chronicle describes it as having taken place at Elfrida's house ("domus") at Corfe, adding that a celebrated castle was subsequently built there—"ubi nunc castrum satis celebre constructum est." He thus makes a marked distinction between the house of the one period and the castle of the other ; though it is probable the country house of an Anglo-Saxon queen, in a remote place like Purbeck, would not be left wholly defenceless.

We naturally look for some notice of Corfe in the Great Survey of King William the Conqueror, but here we are disappointed, for it is not mentioned by name in that important record. A transaction, however, is related in Domesday Book, respecting the advowson of the church of Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, which, when considered in conjunction with other documentary evidence, seems sufficient to establish the period at which a castle was first built at Corfe. In surveying the manor of Kingston, then belonging to the abbey of Shaftesbury, a manor, be it remembered, of which the boundaries have been pretty clearly ascertained, and which boundaries comprehend the site of the castle, the Domesday commissioners report, in a note at the foot of the page, that "within this manor the king has one hide of land, in which he built the castle of Wareham, and for it he gave in exchange to St. Mary (that is, to the abbey of Shaftesbury) the church of Gillingham, with its appurtenances." The original record is as follows :—"De manerio Chingeston habet Rex unam hidam in qua fecit castellum Wareham, et pro ea dedit Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiam de Gillingham cum appendiciis suis." The same transaction is mentioned in the Testa de Nevill, but with the important difference, that the castle of Corfe, and not that of Wareham, is there said to have been built on the

land thus given by the abbey of Shaftesbury in exchange for the advowson. "*Advocatio ecclesie de Gillingham*" (says the last-mentioned document), "*data fuit Abbati de Sancto Edwardo in escambium pro terra ubi castellum de Corf positum est.*" The abbey of Shaftesbury had by this time acquired the denomination of the abbey of St. Edward, and the substitution of the word "*abbati*" for *abbatisse* is obviously a mere clerical error, for certain it is that the abbey of Shaftesbury was intended, as that abbey held the patronage of the church of Gillingham till the time of the dissolution. But how are we to reconcile these contradictory statements, one or other of which must be wrong? Domesday Book tells us that the spot in question was within the manor of Kingston, and it has already been shown that the site of Corfe Castle was within the limits of that manor. Wareham, on the other hand, is four miles distant, and all evidence of a negative character, as well as all probability, is opposed to the supposition that the manor of Kingston embraced any portion of the town of Wareham, especially that part of it which includes the site of the castle. The castle was built on the most elevated spot within the circuit of the town, just such a spot, indeed, as would have been selected for the purpose when the place was originally fortified, at a period long anterior to the foundation of Shaftesbury abbey. A hide of land, moreover, would comprehend a much larger area than the site of the castle of Wareham and its precincts, whilst the territory which became what was called the liberty of Corfe, namely, the site of the castle and some surrounding lands, would amount to a hide and more. The presumption, then, appears to be in favour of the evidence of the *Testa de Nevill*, and the compilers may have ascertained either that the commissioners who made the returns from which Domesday was formed, or the Norman clerks who were employed to transcribe them, had inadvertently written Wareham for Corfe, or may have considered Corfe as a kind of outpost of Wareham, and dependent in some manner upon it.

But we have other evidence, though of an indirect character, bearing on this point. The site of the castle of Corfe was ancient demesne of the Crown, as appears by a record of the time of Richard II.;⁹ and it is well known that only

⁹ Rot. Pat. 2 Ric. II. 2 a pars m. 13 a tergo.

lands which belonged to the Crown at the compilation of Domesday were considered as legally held by that peculiar tenure. This, then, shows that the site of the castle was at that time in the King's hands, though it is not reckoned amongst the "*terræ regis*," unless under the obscure description now under consideration.

Furthermore, the Manor of Mowleham in the neighbouring parish of Swanage, was held, at the Domesday Survey, by Durandus, the king's carpenter, one of the "*servientes regis*;" and in after times it belonged to a family which assumed its name, and was said to be descended from Durandus,¹ by the service of finding a carpenter to work about the great tower of Corfe Castle whenever it required repair, and the king put in his claim.² That this service was attached to the land by the Conqueror himself, when granting Mowleham to his master carpenter, is in the highest degree probable; and it is most likely that the grant itself was made in commemoration of the services which this artificer had rendered in the construction of the castle. The duty to be performed was confined to the great tower, and this is the part, if any, which might, with any probability, be conjectured to be the Conqueror's work. Nearly all the rest is of later date.

The keep of Corfe Castle has many features in common with those of the White Tower of London, which has generally been supposed, on the authority of the *Textus Roffensis*, to have been erected in the Conqueror's reign; and though the masonry of the latter is mostly of rubble stone, yet where ashlar occurs, as it does to a limited extent in some parts of the building, besides the quoins, it is very similar to that at Corfe. It is quite natural that in Purbeck, where stone is so abundant, ashlar should have been more freely used than in London, which is situated so far from any quarries.

We have notice of a castle existing here in the time of Henry II., in the eighth year of whose reign the sheriff accounts for two shillings laid out in its repairs,³ and it is mentioned in the Black Book of the Exchequer in the twelfth year of the same king. In the following reign we

¹ Coker's Survey of Dorset.

² Ministers' accounts, 19 Ed. I, mis-

cellaneous, in the Exchequer.

³ Mag. rot. pipæ, Dorset, 8 H. II.

have only two notices of small sums expended about the king's houses in the castle of Corfe, and these houses, as they are called,⁴ are distinguishable from the great tower or keep.

Considerable sums were laid out during the reign of John, both on the houses of the castle and on the castle itself. In the fourth of King John, 275*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* was spent about the houses of the castle, and 20*s.* in repairs of the castle itself.⁵ In the following year, 246*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* was spent in the work of the castle; and the next year 137*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* was laid out in the same way.⁶ The works were going on in the 8,⁷ 11,⁸ 15,⁹ and 16¹ of John, and in the latter year the king sent his own miners and stonemasons (*minatores nostros et petrarios*), ordering that to two of them should be paid 6*d.* per diem, and to others 3*d.*, so long as they should be employed about the bank of the fosse (*in dora fossati*).² This fosse may be supposed to be the one which separates the outer bailey from the inner part of the castle, and it is evident that the hill has been scarped with considerable care and labour. The names of many of these workmen appear to be French, and it may therefore be inferred that the king selected persons of approved skill in this kind of work.

The masonry of the inner face of the south-west wall of the second ward bears evidence of great antiquity, and may possibly have been erected before the Norman Conquest. It is composed of herring-bone work, very similar to what is found in the castle of Colchester and elsewhere. This wall was originally half its present thickness, and it was pierced with several small round-headed windows. Its thickness has been doubled by an outer facing, which blocks up the windows before mentioned, and was probably erected in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. or in the commencement of that of Edward I.

Corfe Castle was frequently visited by King John, especially in the last year of his life. He was there about two months before his death.³ Its strength as a fortress

⁴ Mag. rot. pipæ.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Rot. Claus. 8 Joh.

⁸ Rot. Missæ, 11 Joh.

⁹ Rot. Claus. 15 Joh.

¹ Ibid. 16 Joh.

² Ibid.

³ Hardy's Itinerary of King John. Introduction to the Patent Rolls.

induced him at one time to keep his treasure⁴ there, and he also used it as a state prison.⁵ The regalia was likewise kept there.⁶ On the suppression of the insurrection of his nephew Arthur, Duke of Brittany, by the capture of the town of Mirabel in Poictou, 200 of the leading nobility and knights of that province were sent prisoners to England; and on 4th February, 1202, the king issued his commands to the constables of the several castles in which they were confined, to send twenty-four of them immediately to Corfe,⁷ where it is said that twenty-two of the most noble and valorous were starved to death.⁸ The names of those unfortunate victims of civil strife have been handed down to us,⁹ but from the annalist alone we have the notice of this wholesale murder. Certain it is, however, that while sending the prisoners to Corfe, the king at the same time transmitted verbal instructions to the constable of the castle by confidential messengers, as to what should be done respecting them.¹ Had there been no sinister intention, such secrecy would not have been required.

A more notorious, and at the same time a more interesting victim of the rebellion of Prince Arthur, was his sister, the beautiful Princess Eleanor, who, on his death, if hereditary succession to the throne, according to a rule of primogeniture, had then been an established law, would have had rights superior to those of her uncle King John. The rule, however, though not positively denied, was not considered as settled, and the king determined to prevent its application in his own case. He caused Prince Arthur to be murdered at Rouen, and sent his sister prisoner to Corfe, where she remained for several years. In the succeeding reign she was removed to Bristol, where she died after a wearisome captivity of forty years. This unfortunate princess had as fellow prisoners at Corfe two daughters of William, King of Scotland, who had been delivered as hostages to John.

Besides the Great Tower, or Keep, the castle had four other towers, called respectively La Gloriette, Butavant, Plenty, and Cocaigue, the three last of which are mentioned as existing in the 8 Edward I., at which time the Gloriette

⁴ Pat. 18 John, m. 18; Rot. Claus. 15 Joh.

⁵ Rot. Pat. 4 Joh. m. 3.

⁶ Rot. Claus. 4 H. III.

⁷ Rot. Pat. 4 Joh.

⁸ Margam Annals.

⁹ Rot. Pat. 4 Joh. m. 3.

¹ Ibid.

is spoken of as a chamber, "*Camera que vocatur Gloriette.*"² It is probable that the first of these towers was situated at the south-east angle of the upper enceinte of the castle, overlooking the fosse on the south, and the deep valley on the east. Scarcely any vestiges now remain, but the thickness and solidity of what is left of the walls give rise to a conjecture that they were so formed for the support of a more lofty superstructure. The tower called "Butavant" was situated at the north-western angle of the castle hill. It was the *but-avant*, the foremost point or abutment in this direction, or it may have been thus named after the castle of Butavant, near Gournay, in France. It was octangular in form, and in the sixteenth century it was styled the dungeon. It contained a prison in the 31 Edward III., at which time it gave name to the whole of the middle ward. In the thirty-sixth year of Edward III., John de Elmerugg, the constable, and Thomas Elliot, mayor of the town of Corfe, render an account of the expenses incurred in various repairs and alterations in the castle, including the making a gardrobe near the "Botefant," the remains of which still exist.³ The localities of the other towers have not been ascertained with certainty, but it appears from the ancient fabric rolls hereafter mentioned, that the one called Plenty adjoined the king's hall, which was in the keep. No trace of this can now be discovered.

There are some fragments of a rather lofty building rising above the external wall, and situated near the most extreme northern point of the castle hill, which must have formed part of a tower. It commands a very extensive view over the adjacent country, and may perhaps have been the one called "Cocayne." This name seems to have reference to the pleasant situation of the tower, a "*pays de Cocagne*," meaning a pleasant country to live in.

Eastward of the Great Tower are the remains of the Great Hall. It stands in the direction of north and south, in what is called the Queen's Tower in the plan of 1586. It was placed in an upper floor, with vaulted chambers underneath it, and was approached by a flight of steps leading to a kind of lobby or vestibule, which seems to be what was called the "*porchea ante cameram reginæ.*"

² Ancient Miscellanea of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Corfe

Castle, Ed. I. to Ric. III. parcel 85.
³ Ibid.

Adjoining the hall, at its north end, there seems to have been an apartment, which possibly may have been a small oratory, for a chapel, called the chapel of the Gloriette, certainly existed somewhere in this vicinity. Such chapels are not unfrequently met with attached to the great hall. Close to the end of the chapel was a well, which appears to have been sunk before the chapel was built, for it was partially within the line of the eastern wall, which was so constructed as to accommodate it. The well was probably dug at this spot with a view to reach the water which issues from a spring, called St. Edward's Fountain, at the base of the hill almost immediately below it. The name of the Gloriette seems to have occasionally been given to the whole of the buildings in this portion of the castle.

Extensive works were carried on towards the middle and close of the reign of Henry III., as appears by accounts rendered at the exchequer by succeeding sheriffs of the county. In the 20 Henry III. the sheriff accounts for 29*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* for laying down joists and floors and for leading in the tower, and 64*l.* for making two good walls in the place of pallisades between the old and middle baileys towards the west, and between the Great Tower and the outer bailey towards the south.⁴ The latter wall is manifestly that now standing, which connects the second gate with the Great Tower, and thus we are able to fix the date of this wall to the year 1236.

In the forty-fifth year of Henry III. the king commanded the sheriff of Dorset to cause to be built in a suitable situation, within the castle of Corfe, a stable large enough for twenty horses; and the gates and bridges of the said castle were also to be repaired.⁵

Near the east end of the fosse of King John stands a semi-cylindrical tower, which in its masonry corresponds with those in the upper portion of the castle, though differing materially from that of the rest of the towers of the outer bailey. It has on its exterior face a coat of arms sculptured in bold relief, on a heater-shaped shield held up by two human hands. This is the only object about the castle which can be considered as at all in the nature of a date. The arms are five fusils in bend, and it is most likely they

⁴ Mag. Rot. Pipæ, Dorset, 20 H. III.

⁵ Rot. Lib. 45 H. III. m. 11.

represent the coat of Alan de Plunkenet, who was constable of the castle in the fifty-fourth year of King Henry III., in which year he passed his account for 62*l.*, expended by him as constable in work done at the castle.⁶ It must be admitted that the arms of Plunkenet or Plucknet had an ermine field,⁷ which is not represented on this shield, but furs may possibly, at that early period, have been regarded as tinctures, in which case they would not be indicated in sculpture. If the above conjecture is right, and the tower was built by the person whose arms it is here supposed to exhibit, its date will be fixed to the year 1296.

In the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, against Henry III., this castle, amongst others, was delivered up to the Barons, who retained possession of it for five years.⁸

The external towers and curtain walls on the higher portion of the castle hill seem to have been mostly erected before the close of this reign; but perhaps they were either not quite finished, or else repairs were speedily required, for carpenters, plumbers, and tilers continued to be employed about the towers, as well as about the *Great Tower*, in the early part of the reign of Edward I. In the eighth year of the last-mentioned king a coverer (*coopertor*) was employed for a week over the king's chamber, the chapel, the queen's chamber, the chamber called the *Gloriette*, the gate before the great tower, and the other houses of the castle, where requisite.⁹

With the exception of the tower which bears the shield before mentioned, and the curtain wall which unites it to the *Gloriette*, as well as the wall connecting the second gate with the *Great Tower*, nearly the whole of the outer bailey or base court seems to have been erected by King Edward I. The masonry of the curtain wall just mentioned differs widely from that of the other external walls of the castle, and much resembles some portions of the *Great Tower*. It seems to be anterior in date to the fosse of King John, for it stops short at a point about six feet from the north-eastern

⁶ Mag. Rot. Pipe, Dorset, 54 H. III.

⁷ Nicolas's Rolls of Arms, temp. Edw. II. and Edw. III. The arms of Plukenet and Pluknett in these rolls are blazoned ermine a bend *engrailed*, but this term is very commonly used in ancient

heraldic language to signify lozengy or fusilly.

⁸ Hutchins's Dorset.

⁹ Ancient Miscellanea of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Corfe Castle, Ed. I. to Ric. II. parcel 85.

tower of the outer ward, and turning at right angles towards the west, seems to have been originally carried onwards on the site now occupied by the fosse, at the foot of what is the present escarpment. A straight joint is visible at its junction with the wall which unites it to the adjacent tower, and a section of it is apparent in the inner face of the present curtain wall. The fosse has been excavated up to its base, so that it stands on a ridge of the natural chalk formed by the excavation of the fosse on the one side, and the steep outer escarpment of the hill on the other.

We have some interesting fabric rolls¹ which enable us to fix with precision the date of the entrance gateway. In the 8 Edward I., 32*s.* were paid for freestone bought for the gate and bridge; and in the following week payments were made for ninety-six cartloads of a kind of stone denominated "*velluta petra*," a term hitherto unexplained, at 2½*d.* per load. At the same time, Adam Buries was paid 5*s.* for making two great hinges and hooks for the outer gate, and nails for the same; and Master Ralph Totewys was paid 2*s.* for a week's wages while preparing the places where the hinges should be put, and for cutting the stone. Further evidence that this gateway was in course of construction at this time, is traced in the fact that John Catel (a name still found amongst the peasantry of Corfe) was paid 3*d.* for a week's wages for assisting Master Ralph to put up and take down the gates at night.² They were therefore probably made, but not finally hung. The date of this gateway may thus be safely fixed at the year 1280, and the rest of this outer bailey, with the exception of the north-eastern tower and the wall connecting it with the Gloriette, was probably erected at about the same period.

A bridge was being constructed at the same time as the entrance gateway, and a charge is made for digging the foundations. It was still unfinished in 14 Edward I.; this, however, was not either of the bridges which we now see. Both the bridges of that date were drawbridges; and a new bridge, chiefly of timber, for the middle ward, was in course of construction in 30 Edward III. Another new bridge, probably the outer one, was built in 51 Edward III., the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

piers of which were of stone, and the superstructure of timber. Five labourers were each paid 3*d.* a day for clearing out the foundation of the bridge; eight quarriers had 5*d.* a day, and five masons 4*d.* a day each for new building with stone the foundations of the said bridge for the support of the timbers to be placed thereon.³

In the nineteenth year of King Edward II., it was ascertained by a Royal Commission that the castle was much out of repair.⁴ It does not appear whether any measures were then taken for its restoration, but less than two years afterwards it became the prison of this unfortunate monarch, before he was conveyed to Berkeley Castle, where he met his cruel fate. This must have been between 14th November, 1326, when he was taken prisoner, and the 21st September following, when he was murdered. It is probable that Edward did not remain long at Corfe, for the sympathy of the people having been awakened by his misfortunes, he was hurried from one fortress to another, in order to conceal his place of residence. There can be little doubt, however, that Corfe Castle was the scene of some of the cruelties and indignities which were inflicted upon him, with a view to deprive him of his reason or his life. His ruthless keeper, Sir John Matravers, was a Dorsetshire knight, and had property in the Isle of Purbeck.

Extensive repairs were made in the castle in the 30 Edward III., in contemplation of an expected visit from the king, which took place in September in that year. The kitchen was rebuilt in 36 Edward III.⁵ Richard II. newly built the tower, called the Gloriette, between the first and third years of his reign, at a cost of 269*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*

The castle continued long in the immediate possession of the Crown, but about the time of King Edward III. its custody and the office of constable began to be granted out for limited terms. John de Beaufort, first Earl of Somerset, had a grant of the castle in tail, and was seised of it in 11 Henry IV.⁶ It continued in that family till the attainder of his grandson, Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, in the first year of King Edward IV. In the year following, the last-mentioned king gave the office of Constable of Corfe

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Inquis. ad quod damnum*, 19 Ed. II.
r. 135.

⁵ *Fabric rolls*, *ut supra*.

⁶ *Esch.*, 11 H. IV. No. 44.

Castle, to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III., in tail;⁷ and he gave the manor of Corfe Castle to the unfortunate George, Duke of Clarence, in tail male. On the latter Duke's attainder, it reverted to the Crown, and Henry VII. gave it to his mother Margaret, Countess of Richmond, for her life. He caused it to be put in repair for her use, and 2000*l.* is said to have been granted by Parliament for the purpose.

In 27 Henry VIII. the castle and manor were granted to Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, natural son of Henry VIII., who died without issue, when they again reverted to the Crown. Edward VI. gave them to his uncle Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, the Protector,⁸ on whose attainder they for the last time fell again to the Crown. Finally, Queen Elizabeth sold them to Christopher Hatton (who afterwards became Sir Christopher Hatton) in the fourteenth year of her reign.⁹ Sir Christopher seems to have made considerable alteration and repairs in the building, and much of his work can still be easily distinguished. To Ralph Treswell, his steward, we are indebted for a ground plan, as before stated, and also, it is presumed, for the plans of the keep, which have been already described. Sir Christopher Hatton died without issue, and he was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William Hatton, alias Newport, son of his sister Dorothy by her husband Sir John Newport. The manor and castle of Corfe, with most of his lands in the Isle of Purbeck, seem to have been given by Sir William Hatton, alias Newport, to his wife the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Exeter, who afterward became the second wife of the Lord Chief Justice Coke. He sold them in 1635 to Sir John Bankes, Lord Chief Justice of England, ancestor of Henry John Perceval Bankes, Esq., of Kingston Lacey, the present owner.

On the breaking out of the civil war between Charles I. and his Parliament, Lady Bankes, the wife of Chief Justice Bankes, then owner of Corfe Castle, retired thither with her family, whilst her husband was in attendance on the king. In 1643 the castle was besieged by the Parliamentary general, Sir Walter Erle, and was gallantly defended by

⁷ Pat. 2 Ed. IV. pars 1, m. 5.

⁹ Pat. 14 Eliz. pars 12.

⁸ Pat. 1 Ed. VI. pars 4, m. 11.

Lady Bankes, assisted only by her daughters, her women, and five soldiers. By throwing down stones and hot embers, they succeeded in repelling the assailants, and the same night an alarm being given that the king's forces were approaching, the siege was raised by Sir Walter Erle, who hastily withdrew to Poole.¹

This castle was one of the last places in England that held out for the king. In 1645 it was a second time besieged by the Parliament's forces, who were on this occasion commanded by Colonel Bingham. A gallant resistance was again made, but treachery at length accomplished what force and strategy were unable to effect. Lieutenant-Colonel Pitman, of Somersetshire, an officer of the garrison, having concerted his plans with the besiegers, admitted a number of the enemy's soldiers in disguise. They possessed themselves of the King's and Queen's Towers, with other important points, and the governor, finding himself betrayed and in the power of the enemy, was compelled to surrender at discretion on the 26th or 27th February, 1645.

Having thus become masters of this important stronghold, the Parliament gave orders for its demolition. Some parts were pulled down, all the towers were undermined, and gunpowder was used to complete the work of destruction. Thus this magnificent pile, which had been raised at so vast a cost of money and labour, and had withstood the vicissitudes of so many ages, was at length reduced to the picturesque ruin which now excites our interest and admiration.

From the ancient fabric rolls before mentioned, we obtain some other facts which are not unworthy of notice. The greatest part of the timber used about the castle came from the New Forest, but some in 30 Edward III. was brought from Wimborne Holt, in Dorsetshire. Studland was the only place in Purbeck which supplied any, and that but once; possibly it may have been landed there from the New Forest. Lime was brought from Poole and Bindon in the 8 Edward I., but in 14 Edward I. they had begun to burn it on the spot, and a charge is made for wood for that purpose. Soon after this, however, there is again a charge for lime from Poole. Between 30 and 38 Edward III. lime was still brought from Wareham, and in 36 Edward III. from Lul-

¹ *Mercurius Rusticus*.

worth; in 41 Edward III. from Sturminster. In the 51 Edward III. a charge is made for constructing a limekiln —“puteum pro crematione calcis;” and forty quarters of sea coal, price 100s., as well as brushwood from Kingswood, were used in burning the lime. The singular hardness and durability of the mortar with which the Castle is built, some parts of which have remained where the face of the stone has perished, gives a special interest to these facts. The sand used is sharp and coarse, and the walls were all grouted with mortar in a liquid state.

The price of sea coal for burning lime in 30 Edward III. was 2s. 8d. per quarter.

In the time of Edward I. the following was the general rate of wages paid for work done about the Castle:—Carpenters usually had $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $3d.$ a day, according to their skill, or from $15d.$ to $20d.$ per week; masons' wages were $3\frac{1}{4}d.$ per day; labourers received $2d.$ per day; women $4d.$ a week; and surveyors of the work had 1s. each per week. Iron cost $\frac{1}{3}d.$ per lb.; stone cost $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a load; the hire of a cart and team was $6d.$ a day, but the hire of a riding-horse was only $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ a day. Much of the work was done as task-work. There is no mention of glass in any of these accounts, except for the chapel, and that is not found till so late as the fifty-first year of the reign of Edward III. The shutters of the windows are continually mentioned, and the absence of any mention of glass leads to the conclusion that none was used in the rest of the building.

THOMAS BOND.

TYNEMAN,
August, 1865.



CORFE CASTLE.

DESCRIPTION.

CORFE CASTLE, visited by the Institute in August last, is one of the most noteworthy remains in Britain. The natural position is very striking, and not less so the manner in which it has been fortified by art. It is of high antiquity, associated from the times of the West Saxon princes to those of the Commonwealth with marked historical events; was the palace and the prison of kings and great nobles, and has been commanded by a long and well-preserved succession of powerful Norman Castellans.

The castle crowns an isolated hill, a part of the steep chalk ridge which, under the general name of the Purbeck Hills, with the subordinate elevations of Knowl Hill, and Ninebarrow and Ballard Downs, stretches twelve miles across the peninsula of Purbeck, from Warbarrow Bay and Flowerbarrow Camp on the west, to the foreland between the bays of Studland and Swanage on the east.

To the south, or sea-ward, is the bold coast line marked by the headlands of Peverel, Durlston, and St. Adhelm's. Landward, or to the north, is the depression occupied by Poole Harbour and its tributaries the Frome and Trent, or Piddle—waters whose fords are commanded by the grand earthworks at Wareham, which, placed astride upon the ridge terminating in the junction of the two, form the frontier and key of Purbeck, as does Corfe its citadel.

The castle ridge ranges with the Isle of Wight, and with it forms the southern margin of the well-known chalk basin, of which Dorchester and Beaminster mark the western limit, and Beer Regis, Salisbury, and Winchester that on the north.

The chalk at Corfe dips north at about 70°. It is hard, moderately durable, and thickly charged with flints, which are extensively used in the interior of the castle walls.

Below the chalk, and underlying the great gateway of the castle, is a narrow belt of the upper greensand, below which, in succession, are the three Purbeck beds, the Portland stone, and the Kimmeridge clay. The stone beds, here of a most durable character, are used for the ashlar and face-work of the castle.

To the north of and above the chalk are narrow and irregular beds of plastic and London clay, succeeded by a broad expanse of the lower Bagshot sands and clay, out of which the harbour of Poole has been eroded, and the latter of which is worked for the purposes of commerce.

A considerable fault runs along the chalk ridge close north of the castle hill, one of a parallel series traversing that part of the southern coast.

The physical aspect of Purbeck betrays, to a practised eye, its geological composition, and the wild rough moor and marshland about the harbour contrast strongly with the steep but rounded outline and green surface of the chalk, upon a summit of which stands the old Norman keep, predominating far and wide over the landscape.

The castle is naturally strong. It occupies the slope and summit of a hill, the base of which covers about fifteen acres, and which is placed in a gap or cutting in the ridge already described, of which position its name is said to be, in Saxon, descriptive.

South of the ridge, and close behind and covered by the castle, is the town of Corfe, from which the castle hill rises steeply, to descend almost vertically upon its east, west, and north sides. The northern, or highest point, is occupied by the keep and principal buildings of the castle.

The stream called by the Saxons the Wicken, and its tributary, the Byle brook, each turning a mill, flow from the south-west and south-east round either side of the town, and, girdling the base of the castle hill, unite just below St. Edward's bridge to form the Corfe river, which flows into Poole harbour. Between the town and the castle, where the two streams approach within a furlong of each other, a deep and bold though dry trench has been cut across the root of the peninsula, and thus forms the great outer ditch which divides the castle from the town.

The castle, in its present form, may be called concentric, but it has been constructed, if not designed, at three prin-

cial periods, having been originally a Saxon palace, then a Norman, and afterwards an Edwardian fortress.

It is composed generally of a keep standing in an inner ward, of a middle, and of an outer ward. The survey by Ralph Treswell, in 1586, of which a fac-simile on a reduced scale accompanies the preceding memoir, subdivides the inner ward into two, and shows a wall across the outer ward, which has disappeared, and was probably modern.

In plan it is an irregular triangle, the walls following the crest of the hill. The great gateway caps the southern or lowest angle; the Buttavant tower, the western; and the inner ward forms the obtuse, highest, or eastern angle. The south-west, the longest front, is concave. It extends 270 yards from the gatehouse to the Buttavant, and its lower two-thirds is the part of the enceinte most jealously defended, and upon the overthrow of which the destroyers have expended their greatest energies. The north, or upper front, too high for attack, measures about 200 yards, and the eastern front about the same.

The area within the walls is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres; but, from the excessive steepness of the ground, much of the outer and part of the middle ward could never have been turned to account. The lower part of the outer, the western portion of the middle, and the eastern part of the inner ward, are the only flat spaces.

The outer, by much the largest ward, is contained within the great gatehouse, the east curtain strengthened by the Horseshoe and Plukenet towers, and the west curtain, upon which are four mural towers. The steep, upper part of the ward rises to the wall of the inner, and the wall and gatehouse of the middle ward. It is traversed by a fosse, attributed to King John, which extends from the Plukenet tower to the front of the middle gatehouse, and is thence continued outside the works down the hill-side.

A permanent stone bridge, about 100 ft. long by 20 ft. broad, crosses the moat, and leads up to the great gateway. It is of four arches, springing from three solid piers, and the roadway, which has now no parapets, is about 30 ft. above the bottom of the moat. The masonry ceases about 18 ft. from the portal, and the interval, now filled with earth, was probably spanned by a drawbridge. The arches are about

one-third of a circle, and the voussoirs in two rings, without bond, 8 in. thick, and from 1 ft. to 3 ft. in length. The piers may be of Perpendicular date, but the arches are probably the work of Sir Christopher Hatton.

The gatehouse is composed of two drums, flanking the portal, and produced rearward into a rectangular building, now partially destroyed. The drums, about 20 ft. diameter, are solid to the base of the upper story, now wholly removed, but of which the lower ends of the loops remain.

The portal, 13 ft. wide, enters a vaulted passage, now 26 ft., and which may have been 36 ft. long. First is the portal, without jambs, and beneath a segmental arch, 4 ft. 11 in. broad. Then (as shown in the accompanying section Fig. I.) a chase, or single machicolation, 6 in. broad. Then a second arch, 3 ft. 9 in. broad. Then a chase, 5 in. broad, and a circular groove of 9 in. diameter, and 7 in. opening, at which the passage narrows by 20 in., being an opening of 11 ft. 4 in. Then follows an arch of 1' 6" breadth, and a chase of 16 in.

Next comes the gateway proper, the jambs of which, 2 ft. 4 in. in thickness, project inwards with a double chamfer, so as to reduce the actual entrance to 8 ft.

The door, the space for which shows it to have been of wood, and not above 4 in. thick, was of two valves, the arch behind being flat segmental, with a high springing and 4 ft. of breadth, to accommodate them when open. Two stones on each side, which probably carried the iron loops for the hinges, have been torn out. Between them, a central hole, 9 in. by 12 in., carried the wooden bar. Next is an arch, of which about 5 ft. only remain, but which probably completed the passage to its opening into the ward, and perhaps carried a portcullis groove.

Half the doorways into the lodges remain. The lodges themselves were barrel-vaulted, and the vault in the west lodge springs from the ordinary Norman string, composed of a flat abacus and chamfer, as though an older gatehouse had been cased. Instances of this string indeed have been pointed out by Mr. Bond in other and certainly later parts of the castle, and of course a plain string of this character may be of any age.

The several arches composing the entrance passage show, at their springings, about a dozen small holes, evidently to

CORFE CASTLE.

Lodge Door.

Lodge Door.

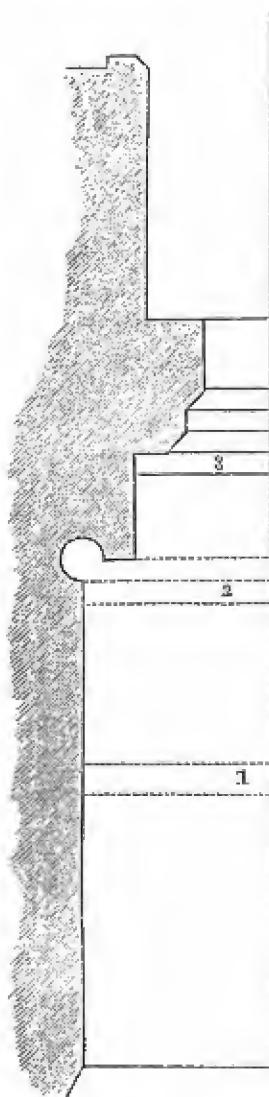
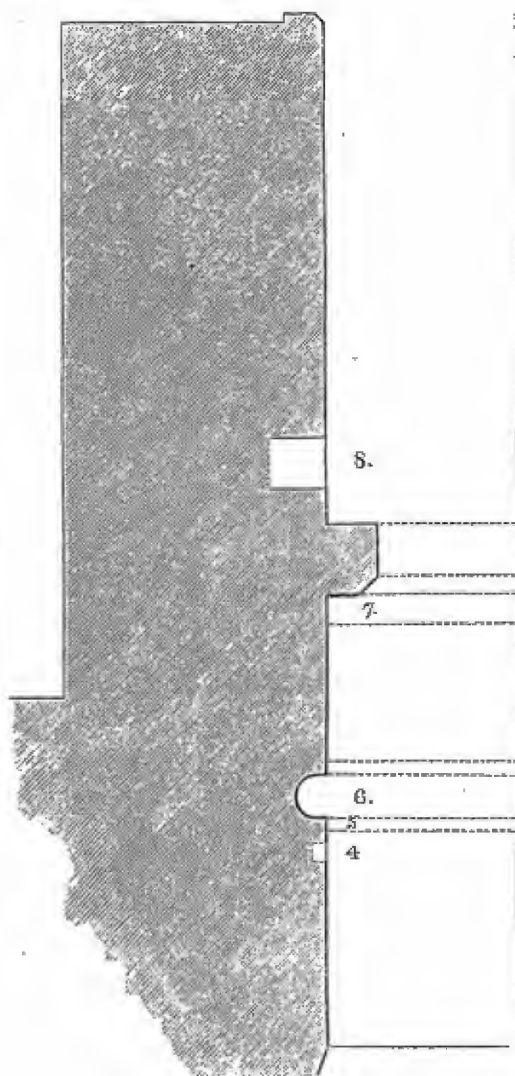


Fig. II.

(Exterior.)

Fig. I.

Fig. I.—Great Gatehouse: Entrance passage,—1, 2, 3, chases.

Fig. II.—Middle Gatehouse, Entrance passage,—4, Pivot hole; 5, Chase in vault; 6, Portcullis groove and chase; 7, Machicolation with five apertures; 8, Bar-hole.



carry the centring. Their small size indicates this to have been of iron. These holes are usual.

In the door jambs are cut six mortises, three on a side, the lowest 6 in. from the ground. They are each $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 2 in. broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep. They must have been intended to hold boards, though the shallow depth would scarce allow of their insertion. These would indeed have been better suited to keep pigs in than warriors out, and perhaps were so used in times of peace. They can scarcely be original, but are probably earlier than the dismantling. The entrance passage falls gently from the interior, so as to give an advantage to the defenders in a contest.

It is difficult to understand the defences of this gateway in the absence of the upper story, from which most of them were worked. There is at present no trace of a drawbridge in the portal, unless indeed the pivot-holes on which it turned be concealed by the soil. If the cylindrical pipe, with the opening or slot in its side, contained a sash-weight, of what was it the counterpoise? Scarcely of the drawbridge, for which, even if of lead, unless of inconvenient length, the weight would be too light; and portcullis groove there is none. The 5 in. chase exactly in front of the pipe may have contained a portcullis, or a frame; but if so, the absence of lateral grooves must have left it very unsteady, except when down upon and fixed in the cill. No doubt a portcullis with crooked sides or ears might have worked in this tube, but that is scarcely probable. The other chases were no doubt intended for the passage of projectiles. They are, however, mere slits across the vault, unaccompanied by lateral grooves as when used for a portcullis, and they do not appear to have been divided by cross *septa*, as in regular machicolations; but this vault has been riven by an explosion, and restored in part in recent times, so that it is difficult to pronounce upon its details.

From each side of the gatehouse springs a short curtain, that to the east, from 10 ft. to 12 ft. thick, and about 20 ft. high, now mostly destroyed, terminates in the Horseshoe tower, a mere shell, about 20 ft. diameter, and 20 ft. high, open at the ground floor and across the gorge, and intended to be floored and bratticed with timber, as is

not infrequent with mural towers, to prevent their being used against the garrison. It is pierced by three loops on the ground floor. These are mere vertical slits, 7 ft. long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, splayed deeply, and opening from recesses in the wall. The tower caps the south-east angle of the work, and the loops are directed upon the field, and along the two curtains. The removal of the talus outside shows this tower to stand upon a deep and solid foundation. At the junction of the gatehouse curtain with this tower, the former contains a mural chamber, 6 ft. broad, and roofed with five tiers of overhanging slabs.

The east curtain is for the most part a mere wall, 8 ft. to 10 ft. thick, and 10 ft. to 15 ft. high, exclusive of battlements, and more or less ruined. Loops are to be seen on its exterior, directed downwards so as to rake the scarp. Near the Horseshoe tower was formerly another mural chamber, called a stable, but more probably a garderobe, and beyond this is a large arch, now walled up, which may have been a postern, and commanded by the Plukenet tower.

This is a mere half-round mural tower, solid to the rampart height, and of no projection within.

Above the rampart it is hollowed into a chamber open behind, with three loops, each 5 ft. 6 in. long and 2 in. in the opening. In each of the recesses, on the right, is a small cupboard for the grease or tools needed by the archer. The tower and rampart were ascended by a well-stair on the north or upper side. The arrangements for allowing the archer to shoot downwards so as to rake the steep scarp are well seen here. This tower is named from a bold and well-preserved shield upon its outer face, charged with a bend fusilly, or five fusils conjoined in bend, and held up by two hands which emerge from holes in the stone. This is one of the well-known coats attributed to the Mareschals, Earls of Pembroke; but, as this family was extinct half a century before the date of this tower, and does not appear ever to have been connected with the castle, Mr. Bond has shown it to be more probable that the shield is intended to commemorate Alan Plukenet, constable of the castle in the 54th of Henry III., and a baron in the reign of Edward, his son, and whose arms were either a bend engrailed, or fusilly, represented anciently much in the same way, upon a field ermine, which

fur (as Mr. Bond suggests) may have been regarded as a tincture, and the spots omitted by the carver.

The curtain from this tower to the Gloriette angle of the inner ward is constructed of much larger stones than those employed lower down. They are as large as many of those in the Norman ashlar, but of ruder workmanship.

Returning to the gatehouse and following the west front, this commences with a short curtain, still standing, and connected with the first mural tower, a drum of rather above half-round projection, capping an angle. It is solid to the rampart level, and above this open at the gorge. Its single chamber has three loops, cruciform, and shorter, wider, and of coarser construction than those of the Horseshoe tower, though still of excellent ashlar. This tower having been riven by powder is seen to be ten yards in solid thickness. Its base is perforated by a rude rectangular drain, 18 in. by 12 in., joined by other drains of 9 in. by 9 in., all in the solid, and evidently descending from garderobes, one of which seems to have been placed in the curtain close north of this tower.

Next above this is the second or Well tower, so called from a small depression behind it, said to indicate a well. This tower resembles the last, was, like it, solid in the base, and had one chamber on the rampart open at the gorge and pierced by three loops.

Close south of it was a small doorway, leading either to a garderobe or a rampart stair. Of this, one jamb is alone seen.

Above the Well tower is the third, and above the third, and also connected with it by a short curtain, is the fourth of these mural towers. This, however, though a tower, is of the nature of an *épaulement*, or redan, and caps a projection or shoulder of the curtain. It has but two loops, longitudinal only, one towards the field and one raking the south wall. The former is divided into a short upper and long lower part by a narrow plate of stone, which projects inwards like a shelf.

The curtain from this Redan tower to the gateway of the middle ward is, I think, earlier than either, and is very lofty. It traverses King John's fosse. It is constructed of large stones, and resembles, in some respects, the curtain above the Plukenet tower, at the other end of the same fosse. Below

it is solid, above it is pierced by four rude loops, boldly splayed within, and which must have opened from a chamber, of which the curtain was the outer wall, or possibly from a wooden platform.

The fosse, attributed to King John, which traverses the outer ward, is about 20 ft. deep, with a vertical counterscarp cut in the chalk rock. The Plukenet tower and adjacent curtain cross its east end, but these stand upon a ridge of solid rock, showing that the ditch has never been continued into the front in this direction. At its west end the case is different. There it has been cut right into and down the slope, and the curtain crossing and stopping it is built actually in the ditch.

No doubt the present dressing of the counterscarp is due to whoever placed artillery upon its crest. Outside it, by way of glacis, is a level platform 30 ft. broad, known to have been defended by artillery, and in front of which are three steps or benches. The whole work forms a *fausse braie* at the foot of the glacis of the keep, and a strong defence in front of the gatehouse of the middle ward. A bridge of two arches, of the same age and fashion with that already described, traverses this fosse, here 50 ft. broad, and leads up to the middle gateway. A profile cut in one of the gate towers shows where the parapet abutted, which however was clearly not original. As in the lower bridge, a space of about 18 ft. next the portal, now filled with earth, was evidently intended to be spanned by the drawbridge.

The middle ward is also triangular. Its longer and about equal north and south sides are capped at the acute western angle by the Buttavant tower, and the base is formed by the middle gatehouse and curtain, and by the revetment wall and gate (now destroyed) of the inner ward.

The Gatehouse of the middle ward is a very fine structure. Like the lower gatehouse, which it resembles in general arrangements, it is composed of two drums flanking the entrance passage, and terminating square in the rear.

One, the north tower, rises direct from the fosse, without basement or set-off, and is connected with a short but very thick and lofty curtain, which ascends the steep ground to abut upon the keep. The tower is of bold projection, but flat towards the curtain. Within is a lodge with one cruciform loop to the front, and in rear traces of a stair which

led to the curtain, and thus by continued steps along its ramparts to the keep.

The other tower rises from the crest of the outer slope, where it appears as a mural defence, upon the west front. Within is a small lodge with three loops, one to the front, one on the flank towards the field, and one, now closed up, to the rear, into the middle ward.

The portal has no jambs, but is entered under a segmental arch, double chamfered. This recedes 4 ft. 1 in., and is succeeded by a rounded portcullis groove, 9 in. broad by 6 in. deep; but having, while within the arch, a flat margin of 3 in. on either side. These margins cease above the arch, and the chaise is of the breadth of the groove only.

Behind the portcullis is a second arch, 2 ft. 9 in. broad, succeeded by a machicolation, 14 inches broad, and divided by four septa into five square holes. These are placed immediately before the jambs of the gate proper, where the passage is reduced by about 1 ft. 8 in.

Behind the jambs an arch of high spring and flat segmental curve accommodated the folding-doors, when open. These were of wood, and the bar-hole behind them is about 11 in. square. The hinges are gone. Behind this last arch the passage was roofed with wood, and is now open. In the rear are parts of the groove of a second portcullis—"altera securitas"—so that there was probably a stone face to the back front of the gatehouse, all now destroyed. The arrangements of this gateway are shown in the accompanying section. See woodcut, Fig. II.

In the wooden roofed space are the doors of the two lodges. The south is square-headed, with shoulders. The north, of the same shape, is protected by a semicircular relieving arch in the wall above. This arch, in design and material, has a very Norman aspect, and may have been preserved from an older work. There are no remains of battlements on this gateway, but on its front are stone corbels, probably intended to carry the hoarding, a feature of military architecture so well described by M. Viollet le Duc.¹

In the exterior portal, near the floor, and a few inches in front of the portcullis groove, is a round hole, 5 in. across and 3 in. deep, which seems to have carried the iron axle of

¹ Dictionnaire de l'Architecture, tom. VI. "Hourd."

the drawbridge. Above it is another similar hole, no doubt connected with the working of the same defence.

Entering the gateway the road rises rapidly. On the right is the exceedingly steep scarp, at the top of which is the bastion of the keep. On the left is the curtain of the west front. Higher up the way turns to the right, to reach the inner ward, and skirts on the left what seems to have been a formal garden, indicated by a level plot, some foundations of walls, and two alcoves, attributed to Sir John l'Anson, a rector of Corfe towards the end of the last century.

Westward of this the ward seems to have been used for offices and in part covered over. In the north curtain is a half round mural tower with four loops, and of one story, open at the gorge. The water table of a double-gable roof is seen within, and the central gutter projects as a spout outside. Further on is a blocked-up arch, probably an early postern, and, still further, the seat and drain of a large garderobe, beneath an arch in the wall, 8 ft. broad. Above is a plain corbel, hollowed to receive the wall-plate of a roof, and no doubt one of a series. The country people call it the gallows. A part of the south curtain of this ward is the most interesting feature of the whole structure.

First, ascending from the gate, upon the left, is the curtain. Then, upon it, a half round mural tower with three loops, but closed, since its construction, at the gorge by a wall, in which is a small door, which led into a contiguous building. From this tower, westward, the curtain is constructed of flat stones laid in a rude but distinctly herring-bone fashion. In it are three windows and the place of a fourth. These are round-headed, 2 ft. 4 in. diameter, and 3 ft. 6 in. deep, splayed to 12 in., when they terminate in a stone plate, out of which is cut a loop of 6 in. opening, and a rebate for a shutter. At present they are 3 ft. 6 in. to the springing, but a part may be buried. These apertures are closed by the exterior casing of the wall. This wall at its west end seems to have been returned inwards. Both this wall and these windows have been regarded as part of the old Saxon palace, and this may well be so. They certainly appear older than the Norman work of the keep.

Westward of this old part is a walled-up doorway, with a pointed arch springing from the usual Norman flat chamfered abacus. This looks like transition Norman work. Outside

it is masked by the facing. This door, the base of which is buried, seems to have been a postern, although, it must be confessed, in a most inconvenient position for such a means of egress.

The Buttavant tower, which caps the western angle of the ward, and is a marked object in the outline of the castle, seems to have been an octagon of 7 ft. in the side, internal measurement, and of considerable thickness. The casing of the lower part is gone. It had a sub-basement story, and two above this, all covered with wood. A well-stair near the gorge leads to the summit. The curtain from hence to the garderobe is destroyed.

The inner ward occupies the summit of the hill. It also is rudely triangular, the great bastion forming the apex to the west, the Gloriette bastion capping the angle to the south-east, and the obtuse angle to the north-east being formed by the curtain alone. Towards the outer and middle wards the wall is a strong revetment of masonry, crested by the curtain. Elsewhere the earth is only somewhat higher within than without the curtain.

This ward contained two gateways, the keep, the Queen's tower and offices, and a well.

The gateway from the middle ward abutted on the northern curtain. It was probably a mere aperture in a wall, without a regular gatehouse, else it could scarcely have disappeared so completely, even under the crushing weight of the fragments of the keep.

This gate opened into a small court, on the east side of which rose the keep. A second and higher gate seems to have led into the actual ward, and to have been placed close to the foot of the exterior staircase of the keep. This gate is also completely gone. The survey by Treswell in 1586 shows where it stood.

The Keep is a quadrangular tower, 60 ft. square and 80 ft. high, of pure Norman work. The east and west faces were strengthened with five flat pilaster strips, 5 ft. 4 in. broad, 18 in. projection, and 8 ft. 4 in. apart. On the north and south faces were four similar strips, placed at wider intervals. All rose from a common plinth, and died into the wall a short distance below the battlement, a small portion of which is still visible, not passing into it as at Chepstow and elsewhere, so as to panel the face.

The door of the ground-floor, apparently 4 ft. wide, and with very late dressings, is at present in the west wall, here 9 ft. thick, and may possibly have been always there, although certainly not in its present form. It was covered by the exterior stair. It is placed nearest to the south end, between the second and third pilasters.

The stair, 9 ft. broad, is built against the west face of the keep, without bond, and perhaps a later addition. Beneath it is a large open arch, round-headed, springing from flat pilaster jambs, which, continued above the string or cap, panel the soffit of the vault. This arch serves as a porch to the door of the basement of the keep.

The stair terminates in the staircase tower, a rectangular lean-to, or building appended to the keep, forming a vestibule to the main entrance, and said to have carried the stairs leading to the upper floor. It is about 19 ft. by 16 ft. within, and has a stone bench against its north wall. The door from the exterior stair in the north wall is round-headed, 6 ft. 6 in. wide, opening in a wall 6 ft. thick, the two other walls being 4 ft. The keep door, between the first and second pilasters, and therefore near the angle of the keep, has been 6 ft. broad, now enlarged to 9 ft. It has a flat top, with a semicircular arch of relief in the wall above, not intended to be seen. There was probably a door in the south wall of the vestibule opening upon the great bastion, and there are traces of a covered passage from it into the garderobe tower. This vestibule seems certainly to be of the age of the keep, and to have been occupied by a staircase to the principal floor.

The keep was divided into two great chambers by a wall 6 ft. thick. The basement was covered, and the first story floored by ten large whole-timber joists, the cavities for which remain in the south wall. The first floor probably contained a chamber, 42 ft. long by 28 ft. broad, and 24 ft. high, which, however, must have been very dark, since the north wall was interior, and the south without windows. Two small doors, probably of rather later construction, open through the south wall into the exterior gallery.

Above this room, forming the third story, was another, apparently of the same size and much more cheerful, and which may have been the hall. A well-stair led from this upwards, in the east wall, near its south end. The water-

tables within show a ridge and valley roof, as at Porchester, and probably there was originally nothing above this floor.

The battlements, with a slight exception, are gone, but in the east and west wall, just below the battlement line, are coupled Norman windows, of about 3 ft. opening, a pair between each pair of pilasters, thus forming a sort of arcade, not unlike the far later ones at Swansea and Llanfey, but much of which seems always to have been closed. It is remarkable that a building so massive and the walls of which are so thick, should have been without the usual galleries and mural chambers found in Norman keeps.

Mr. Bond, who is intimately acquainted with this castle, and has brought much critical knowledge to bear upon its details, is of opinion that the upper part of the wall of the keep shows evidence of having been an addition to the original structure, though at no very long interval of time.

Built against the exterior of the keep, on the south side, and projecting into the outer ward, is another lean-to, or appended tower, of about 30 ft. in breadth, and 20 ft. projection. Outside it has three pilaster strips and one on each flank, rising from a common base. At present it reaches only to the floor of the second story of the keep, but it seems to have been higher, and is said to have been lowered by Sir C. Hatton. It is a garderobe tower, and contains on each of its two floors two chambers of about 7 ft. by 9 ft. The upper are not accessible; but it is clear that a portion of the eastern lower chambers was bratticed off, to carry the refuse from the upper. In the western chamber is a stone arch, which may be taken to indicate the place of this brattice. The eastern is open on one side, and was evidently closed by a timber partition. These chambers terminate below in two square openings, on the face of the tower, and this supports the notion that the western as well as the eastern chamber was intended for a garderobe.

Between these chambers and the keep wall runs a vaulted gallery, into which they open, and from which two small doors, already mentioned, enter the first floor of the keep. Although the garderobe tower covers only half the face of the keep, this gallery is prolonged over the whole, being protected by a wall, looped. A door at its lower or east end led towards the kitchen, and one at the upper end opened on the great bastion, with access on the right to the

vestibule, and on the left to the curtain leading from the keep to the middle gatehouse. Two water-drains from the keep cross the gallery and discharge into the garderobes.

This tower, being built against and not bonded into the keep, is evidently later, but resembles it in general style, and must have been added within a very few years. The explosion which shattered the keep has made evident the complete want of bond between the two buildings.

East of the keep the ward is occupied by the remains of various offices, and by the ruins of the Queen's Hall or tower. This, with its contiguous buildings, was constructed upon crypts, some of which remain. One is round-headed, with a pointed doorway; another, which supported the Queen's Hall, seems to have had a very slightly pointed barrel-vault, divided by lateral narrower, but equally high, and therefore pointed, arches, into four bays, two of which contain lancet windows.

Some of the hall windows remain. They are pointed, with drop arch recesses, and stone side seats. The tracery is gone, but the exterior labels remain, terminating in knobs of foliage, and the arris or angle of each recess is occupied by a bead-and-scroll moulding.

North of this hall and placed across it, east and west, are the remains of what is regarded, with great probability, as the chapel. The west door and that of the hall are placed side by side, in a vestibule or porch, entered on the west side by a staircase.

The doors are pointed, with half-round bead labels, and a bead-and-scroll moulding running round the jambs and arch. Inside, the chapel door is richer, and has in the arch a double bead-and-scroll, divided by a hollow, and for the jambs the hollow has been occupied by a detached column of Purbeck marble, which material, though much decayed, is still seen to have formed the base and bell capital. The design, though not highly ornate, is excellent, as is the execution. The whole of this group appears to be early English, of the latter part of the reign of Henry III.

Close to the east of the hall, between it and the curtain, is a depression, said to mark the well. This must have been of great depth—probably to the level of the brook.

The tower spoken of as "La Gloriette" is probably gone, but near it is what may be called the Gloriette bastion, and

what seems to be the angular base of a tower capping the south-east angle of the ward, and intended to cover the junction of the wall with the curtain which comes up from the Plukenet tower. Near to it, westward, is a mural chamber in the curtain, which Treswell's plan shows as a garderobe, and beyond this an angular bastion, supposed to have been added by Lady Bankes, who seems to have placed a gun there.

The great bastion is a very peculiar work. It is of rounded outline, formed by a very thick and high wall of revetment, which caps the west end of the southern curtain, and projects into the middle ward. At the siege it carried five guns, and was called the New Bulwark. But although it may then have been widened to carry a battery, it was probably only an addition to the older Norman revetment wall supporting the staircase tower. The exterior, and therefore perhaps later, revetment has been injured at the base, and the heart of the work is exposed. It shows very rough filling up.

The south curtain of this ward is about twelve feet thick, but the north and east being less exposed and having no buildings to support, are much lighter, and present nothing of the strength considered necessary in the lower and more exposed portions of the fortress.

The present condition of the building is completely to be accounted for by the fact that Corfe Castle was "slighted" under a vote of the House of Commons, dated 4th of March, 1645, a period at which the orders of the Commons were not obeyed negligently.

In the outer gateway the drums are blown forwards, the vault split, and the rear of the lodges destroyed. All the upper story is removed.

Eastward the curtain is broken down, but the Horseshoe tower is not materially injured. The rest of the curtain to the Plukenet tower is broken down in parts only. That tower and the curtain up to the keep have not been dismantled, and but partially pulled down.

In this ward the main force of the destroyers has been spent upon the lower half of the west front, of which the curtains are lifted forwards, and the mural towers rent and shaken, vast fragments of both encumbering the slope. The Redan tower has escaped, as has the curtain which traverses King John's fosse.

The gateway of the middle ward presents a singular appearance. A mine has been excavated beneath the outer tower, which has sunk about 10 ft. and moved a little forward, splitting the entrance vault. This can hardly be the effect of powder, but is more probably due to a mine of the old sort, in which the earth was removed, and wooden props introduced, which were afterwards pulled away or burnt.

Of the Buttavant tower about two-thirds are gone, with part of the north curtain. The great curtain between the middle gatehouse and the keep is unshaken, only its steps and battlements are gone. It is one of the finest curtain walls in Britain, and almost equal to Cardiff.

In the inner ward the devastation has been severe. Of the keep, all the north and two-thirds of the adjacent west wall lie in enormous masses on the sward, and in their fall have utterly crushed the gateways of the ward, and their adjacent curtain. The east wall is destroyed at its two ends, but a strip of the central part remains unhurt to its summit, a marvel of Norman masonry, and is completely shrouded in ivy. The south wall and garderobe tower are but little injured. The staircase tower is destroyed, all but a part of the north wall. The broken-down walls of the keep are a sight to see, so vast is the mass of the fragments and so firm the cohesion of the material. They lie in the wildest confusion, and some considerable lumps have rolled down the slope, and bounding across road and brook, rest half buried in the turf beyond.

The Queen's tower and offices are destroyed, but, offering less resistance, have been broken up more in detail, and have no doubt been spoiled subsequently for the sake of the ashlar.

The destruction probably exceeds anything known elsewhere in England. The charges of powder, though skilfully disposed, seem to have been larger than was actually necessary; and certainly the place might have been rendered untenable with far less destruction of masonry. Even with such mortars as were used in the days of the Commonwealth, the castle could have been commanded from the loftier Challow hill, close to the east of it.

A few remarks naturally arise out of the above description.

The Saxon residence, of the existence of which there appears to be evidence in the latter part of the tenth cen-

tury, was no doubt also a place of strength. It is certain that it must have occupied the highest part of the hill, now the inner ward, and the wall remaining in the middle ward will probably be accepted as evidence that it extended over the area of this ward also.

The Normans probably made a clear sweep of any existing buildings in the inner ward, when they commenced the keep and its 'accessories, and, a little later, the garderobe tower. These are all built of large squared stones, with moderately open joints; thoroughly substantial, sound work, and all the more workmanlike and effective for a certain roughness and boldness in the finish. The ashlar, usually an indication of late work, was here close at hand in the Purbeck quarries, and the general absence of ornament in a royal residence, of vaulting, of triforial galleries or mural chambers, and, with one partial exception, of mural staircases, seem to indicate the work, if not of the Conqueror, of his more immediate successors. The garderobe tower, not particularly late Norman, but certainly subsequent to the keep, seems to strengthen this conclusion.

As the Norman buildings required to be included within an enceinte wall, which would naturally take the crest of this part of the hill, this would necessarily include or supersede the Saxon wall, which, for the same reason, would have followed the same limited outline. Probably, therefore, the curtains of the upper and middle ward contain traces of Saxon and a great deal of Norman masonry, and this applies also to the cross revetment wall between the inner and middle wards, which follows a natural division in the ground. The same natural cause would decide the position of the gates, where we now see them.

The original Norman castle has generally been supposed to have been restricted to the two upper wards, to which, according to Mr. Bond, King John added the defence of a deep fosse. It is singular, however, that this fosse, while cut right through to the western slope, should stop a little short of the eastern face. The narrow ridge thus left could scarcely have been intended for a passage, for the gateway of the upper ward must necessarily, from the disposition of the ground, always have been at the western or lower end of the fosse, and, had a ridge been left as an approach, it would certainly not have been one of almost inaccessible

steepness, much exposed to view and to attack, and not defensible by any special work.

The wall, from the Gloriette angle along the ridge, nearly to the Plukenet tower, has been observed to be of regular Norman work, and, according to Mr. Bond, to show evidence of having been returned inwards, as though it extended along the line of the later ditch. Thus it may be, that before King John's time the fortress occupied the present upper and middle wards, and a strip of the lower ward along the foot of the glacis of the keep. This is no doubt more probable than that it occupied the whole of the lower ward, covering the same area with the present works.

Mr. Bond has been able, by documentary evidence, to fix the date of the great curtain, which connects the later middle gate with the earlier keep tower, at 1236 ; as with such a curtain there must have been a tolerably strong gate, and as the present gate is some years later, this was no doubt Norman, though probably very late—say of the age of the curtain traversing King John's fosse at the lower end. Perhaps the pointed arch with Norman springing-course, in the wall next the Buttavant tower, may be of the same period—say the reign of Henry II., though the wall itself may be shown, by the evidence of records, to be later.

The lower ward, in its present state, was certainly enclosed towards the end of the reign of Henry III., and in that of Edward I. To this age may be attributed the outer and middle gatehouse, and the four mural towers of the outer ward, as well as the work of the Queen's tower, with its hall and chapel. The Plukenet tower may be assigned to the constableness of that baron, 54 Hen. III., or a little later.

To this period also is to be assigned the facing of the south wall of the middle ward. The ashlar of this age, though it has not the grand effective boldness of the Norman work, cannot be surpassed for closeness of jointing and general excellence of workmanship. The stones, from one to 2 ft. long, and 8 in. wide, are coursed and well bonded, and their angles are as fresh as when newly cut.

The excessive solidity of the mural towers upon the west front is very remarkable. Possibly this unusual strength was intended to counteract the danger of being mined, for which the soft chalk rock offered great facilities.

NOTICES OF THE EXAMINATION OF ANCIENT GRAVE-HILLS IN
THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

PART II.

Barrows on Wykeham Moor, near Troutsdale; on Hall Moor, near Castle
Howard; and at Scale House, near Skipton, in Craven.

By the Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A.

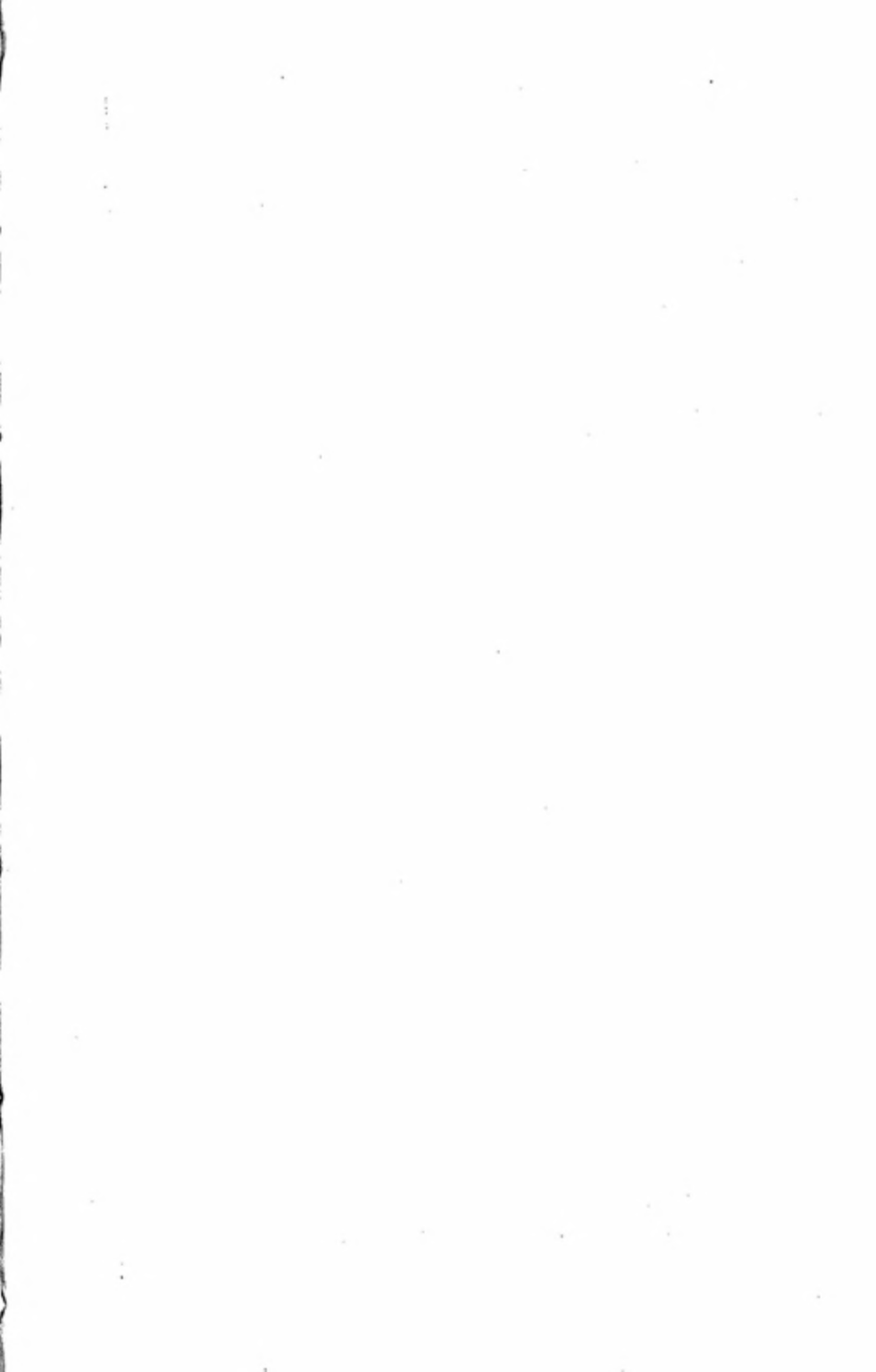
THE district in which the next barrows I opened are found, is singularly rich in sepulchral remains. It is the range of oolitic hills between Troutsdale and the valley of the Derwent. A reference to Sheet 95, S.W., of the one-inch Ordnance Survey, will show how thickly studded it is with grave-mounds. Of these the greater part have been opened before attention was paid to the remains of the early inhabitants of our country; but many have been examined of late years, and, I fear, without record of the contents and of the manner in which they were deposited having been kept. It is impossible to reprobate too strongly that ignorant and greedy spirit of mere curiosity-hunting, which has done—and, alas! is still doing—such injury to a proper investigation of our ancient places of sepulture. The urn, the dagger, and the arrow-head, possess a very trifling interest, and give us, comparatively, little information, unless we know the circumstances of their deposition, and the objects with which they were associated.

A few barrows, however, remain in the district in question, wholly or in part untouched; and I proceed to record the opening of some of them. On Wykeham Moor are three houses a few yards apart, called the “Three Tremblers.” Of the largest of these [L], on May 31st, June 1st and 2nd, I made an extensive examination. It is that which lies the furthest to the south, and is 98 feet in diameter, 11 feet high, and is formed entirely of sand. About 16 feet from the outside, and resting upon the natural surface of the ground,

was a line of stones,¹ which I have no doubt runs round the whole barrow. I cannot, however, affirm this, as I did not examine every part of the outside. At a distance of 13 feet from the outside, and just without the encircling line of stones, a trench 14 feet wide, and 49 feet long, was cut down to the natural surface. This trench was carried, parallel to the circuit of the barrow, from a little west of south, to the east side of the mound; we then took it through the centre, gradually narrowing it, until at 42 feet from the commencement of the trench, 56 feet from the outside of the barrow, we finished with a width of 14 feet. In this way all the central part, and the south and south-east parts of the houe were thoroughly examined. Shortly after commencing, we came upon a few fragments of pottery, just above the natural surface. These had never formed an urn, but were such pieces as are so often met with scattered amongst the material of grave-mounds. Throughout our digging we met with frequent chippings of flint, and pieces of charcoal, another common incident in grave-hills. Our first discovery of interest was made 25 feet from the outside of the mound, and S.E. of the centre. It was a small cist, 2 feet long by 13 inches wide, 5 feet from the surface, 3 feet from the bottom of the barrow, and consisted of a cover and two side-stones, these last resting on another flag-stone. In it was a small urn (fig. 5) lying on its side, and full of the sand of which the houe was made. The urn is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 5 inches wide at the mouth, and 2 inches wide at the bottom; the lip is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide on the inside, a width much above the average, and is ornamented with three lines of impressed cord; the rim has a similar line

¹ These encircling rings of stones or earth, so frequently found surrounding barrows or other places of interment, have generally either a break in the ring if they are of earth, or a portion built up if they are of stones standing apart. This feature holds good, whether the ring encloses the barrow or a burial within it, or whether it surrounds interments which have never had a mound over them, and which are frequently called "Druid's circles." This peculiarity is too remarkable to be accidental; the break in the ring is represented in the stone circles by the portion which is built up, and both make the circle in-

complete, or rather form a way into the inclosure within. Have we in these small incomplete circles, and in the great ones of Avebury, Stonehenge, Callernish, and Stennis, the same feature, the like symbol which is represented by the circular markings on the inscribed rocks? In them the central hollow has a duct leading from it, which makes all the circles incomplete. I believe there is a similar figure intended in the penannular rings of metal, where the incomplete circle is so persistent a type. This shape is surely not caused by its necessity for any purpose to which they might be put, but is rather to be considered as symbolical.



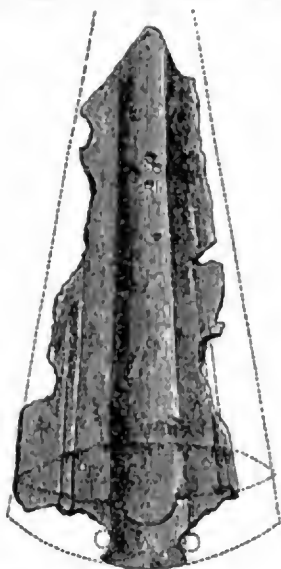


Fig. 6.—Bronze dagger; length of orig. 8 inches.



Fig. 7.—Flint knife; length of orig. 4½ inches.



Fig. 8.—Height of orig. 4½ inches, width at the mouth 6 inches.

Urn, with relics of bronze and flint, found in a barrow on Wykeham Moor.

on the edge ; below the rim the urn has two lines impressed round it, and it here narrows to a diameter of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, swelling out again at $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the bottom to a width of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. No traces of bone, nor any signs of an interment, were found in or near the cist. About 8 feet from the centre, and 4 feet above the natural surface, a quantity of burnt earth and charcoal was found. Nothing more was discovered until we reached the centre ; when, about 2 feet S.E. of it, 4 feet below the summit, and 7 feet from the bottom, a bronze dagger (see woodcut, fig. 6), and a beautiful flint knife (fig. 7) were found, lying side by side, but without any bones, or signs of an interment. The dagger is of the ordinary type ; it was originally about 8 inches long, and had been deposited in its sheath of wood, of which portions were still upon it. The line where the handle, probably of wood, had joined the sheath, is very apparent ; it is of the semilunar pattern, not uncommon in such weapons ; the handle had probably been attached by two rivets—the hole for one of these is quite distinct. It is strengthened by a central rib, which has on each side two depressed lines, parallel to it. The flint knife,² $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 2 inches wide, has been taken off from the nucleus at one slice, and that side has never been touched again ; whilst the other is carefully chipped over the whole surface, and has a ridge up the middle, both edges being very regularly serrated. There can be no doubt that both the bronze dagger and the flint knife had belonged to the person who was buried in this house ; and we have, therefore, a valuable illustration of the contemporaneous use of bronze and stone.

During the highest cultivation of the bronze period, it is, I think, certain that stone implements were in common use. Poorer persons, probably, had no other articles than those of flint, or other stone ; whilst the richer had some of metal and some of stone. All who are acquainted with our early remains, must have observed that no bronze arrow-heads³ have been found, whilst, on the contrary, flint arrow-

² I call this implement a knife because it has more in common with such an article than with any other. It generally figures in accounts of barrow openings as a spear-head, of which weapon, however, it has none of the distinctive shape. The people who fashioned the arrow-heads so beautifully, if they fabri-

cated a spear-head in flint, would not have made one side straight, the other curved, and carefully rounded it off at the sharper end.

³ Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, vol. i. pl. xxxii. fig. 1, figures a bronze weapon, which he calls an arrow-head ; but, judging from the broadness of the metal at the point

heads are abundant ; and also that spear or javelin-heads⁴ of flint, of which material they could have been as easily fabricated as the arrow-heads, are exceedingly rare. The explanation, I believe, is this ;—such articles as a man retained by him, when in use, such as his sword, dagger, spear, and celt, were made of the more valuable material, bronze, while such as he threw from him, and which were therefore liable to be lost, such as arrow-heads, were of the commoner material, flint. Knives also and implements for scraping hides or bone, would continue to be made of flint long after the introduction of bronze, because for such uses it is well adapted.

On digging down to the original surface of the ground, 7 feet directly beneath the dagger and knife, and 11 feet below the summit of the barrow, we found the interment. The body had, apparently, been unburnt ; no trace of bone was found ; and burnt bone is so little liable to decay as to be almost indestructible. The remains of the body presented the appearance of a thin layer of dark matter,⁵ which felt greasy when rubbed between the fingers ; with this was a small fragment of bronze, so much damaged that it is impossible to conjecture what it had been.

The features in connection with this barrow are, in my experience, singular ;⁶ there was no indication that any other than one person had been buried in the grave-hill, large as it is, whilst the objects connected with the interment were not, as is generally the case, placed close by the body, but at a considerable distance from it. I cannot but attribute the urn, dagger, and knife to the burial which was found at the centre of the barrow, for no bone or trace of animal matter

where the rivet-holes are placed, to attach it to the handle or shaft, I should rather take it to be a small dagger. Toy weapons and implements have been found in barrows. A miniature bronze dagger, smaller than that from Wilts, is figured in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, p. 33, No. 152. A remarkably diminutive bronze celt, found in Yorkshire, is figured in the *Transactions of the Archaeological Institute at the York Meeting*, Museum Catalogue, p. 27.

⁴ I must protest against giving grand names to very common things. We continually see in records of the opening of barrows, accounts of the finding of daggers and of spear and javelin-heads of flint. In most cases such objects are

nothing more than mere flint flakes, and persons not practically acquainted with the usual contents of a barrow, will form a most erroneous notion of the frequency of the occurrence of such weapons when they read these accounts.

⁵ A chemical analysis of this showed it to contain a large quantity of animal matter.

⁶ Mr. Ruddock found in a sandy house of large dimensions, 10 miles north-east of Pickering, an urn, deposited at some distance from the cist which had at one time contained the body. Another house, situated not far distant from the last, produced nearly the same results. *Bateman's Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 218.



Fig. 9.—Height 5½ inches.



Fig. 10.—Height 3½ inches.

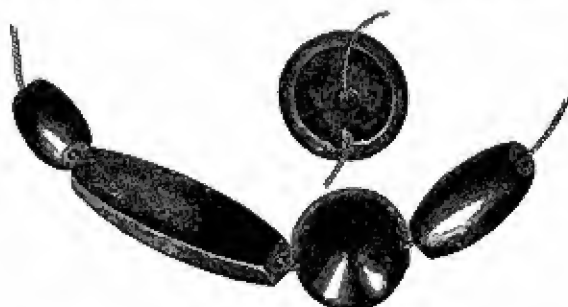


Fig. 13.—Jet Beads, original size.



Fig. 11.—Fragment with unusual ornament.



Fig. 12.—Height 2 inches.

Urns and relics found in Barrows on Wykeham Moor.

was observed in contact with these articles. They must, therefore, if they did not belong to the central interment, have been placed in the mound without being connected with a body at all, which seems highly improbable. The body was laid upon the ground, earth was heaped over it, and above it were placed amongst the earth the dagger and knife; the mound gradually increased, and at some distance from the body was deposited the usual urn, after an unusual fashion.

June 5th and 6th were occupied in examining three houses, about a mile to the north of "The Tremblers," and upon the verge of the steep ground which slopes rapidly into Troutsdale [M]. The first, 30 feet in diameter, and 4 feet in height, was formed entirely of stones, and had a circle of large stones round the base. The several interments which it contained were placed upon a pebbly flooring, resting upon the original surface of the ground. About 6 feet from the outside, on the N.W., was a deposit of burnt bones without any urn or flint. Nine feet from the east side of the house, and north of a line drawn through its centre, was a deposit of burnt bones, scattered over a space of above 3 feet in diameter. Amongst the bones were portions of pottery, apparently deposited as fragments, together with an urn. This urn (fig. 8) is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 6 inches wide at the mouth, and 3 inches at the bottom. The lip has, on the inside, two lines of impressed cord, running round the whole circumference; below the lip the urn narrows slightly, and then swells again about the middle to its first width. The upper half is ornamented with six lines of short impressions of cord about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and placed herring-bone fashion. It was broken into pieces by the pressure of the stones, so that I cannot say whether any of the bones had been contained in it or not—I think the latter most probable.⁷ Amongst the bones was an oval flint implement, carefully chipped on one side over the whole surface, and unburnt. It is of a type of which I have seen three or four specimens, that, unburnt themselves, have been found with burnt bodies. It has been probably used as a knife, and to scrape hides and bone. Due west of the centre, about 8 ft., and laid amongst

⁷ I have no doubt that this is one of that class of urns found accompanying a burnt body, but which does not contain

the bones. A few notes respecting this type of urn will be found hereafter.

the stones of which the tumulus was made, and about 2 ft. above the surface of the ground, were two unburnt, or very partially burnt bones, portions of a *tibia* and an *ulna*. They

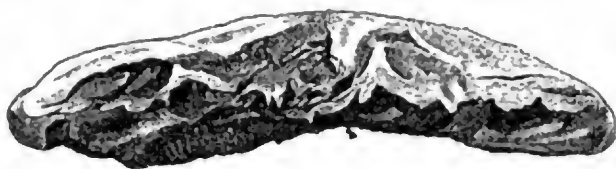


Fig. 9. Flint: original size. See note, p. 99.

appeared to have been placed where we found them, as single bones, without any other part of a body, whilst the tumulus was being raised. In the centre of the house was a circle of stones, set on edge, 4 ft. in diameter; within this circle, on the west side, was an urn so much decayed that the greater part fell into dust when touched; there was placed on its mouth, inverted over the burnt bones which filled it, a smaller urn (fig. 10), plain, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the mouth, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the middle, having two pierced ears opposite each other, apparently for the purpose of suspension. The larger urn has a pattern of an unusual kind (fig. 11). Amongst the burnt bones in the urn was a single piece of calcined flint. On the east side of the space within the circle was another urn, likewise filled with burnt bones, but so much decayed that it fell to pieces before the pattern could be distinguished. About 3 ft. east of the circle, and 2 ft. above it, was a single fragment of pottery. Above the circle the stones were much burnt, and burnt earth in considerable quantity was mixed with them.

Two other grave-hills, a few yards from the last, were then examined. They were natural elevations in the ground, and a few stones had been added to give a little increased height. The first [N] was 16 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. high. In the centre, in a circular hollow, in the natural surface, 2 ft. in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep, was a deposit of burnt bones, with a single piece of calcined flint. The second [O], 16 ft. long by 12 ft. wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, had a similar hollow in the centre, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter, and 2 ft. deep. This contained a deposit of burnt bones, with four calcined chippings of flint.

June 7th and 8th were employed in examining two bar-

rows about a mile to the west of "The Tremblers," and about 30 yds. apart. The first [F] was 27 ft. in diameter, and 4 ft. high, having, on the south side, an additional portion which projected about 5 ft. beyond the original circle of the house, and had evidently been made since the mound was raised. The whole barrow was of sand. We commenced by examining the additional portion; and in it, 8 ft. S.W. of the centre, and 1 ft. from the surface, we found a deposit of burnt bones, scattered over an area $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter. Amongst the bones was a small urn (fig. 12), of the so-called "incense-cup" type,⁸ 2 in. high, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide at the mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. about the middle, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the bottom. The lip, which slopes slightly outwards, is ornamented by a zigzag, the triangular spaces within which are filled in with parallel lines; below the lip and round the middle is a zigzag encompassing the urn; all the lines forming the pattern are faultily and irregularly made by a sharp-pointed instrument. With the bones was a small flake of calcined flint, a portion of a bronze pin, much oxidised, and four jet beads (fig. 13), two of which are oval-shaped, of different lengths; one is an oblong-square, and the fourth button-shaped, having the hole at the back pierced from the centre to the side. We then commenced upon the north side: when 8 ft. N.E. of the centre, and 1 ft. below the surface of the house, we came upon a broken urn lying amongst burnt bones. This urn, much decayed and fragmentary, is quite plain, without any rim, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide at the mouth, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the bottom, and has probably been about $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Amongst the bones were four pieces of calcined flint, which appear to be remnants of fabricated implements, and one chipping of unburnt flint. On reaching the centre, 1 ft. below the surface of the mound, we came upon portions of three urns,⁹ with burnt bones, the urns appearing as if they had been broken by the introduction into the barrow of the two urns to be next mentioned. There can scarcely,

⁸ These small urns, generally shaped like a common earthenware saltcellar, are not unfrequently found amongst the burnt bones; sometimes, as in this case, when the bones have been merely laid upon the ground, at other times amongst the bones within a larger urn, or in a circular hollow in the ground. They are often pierced with two holes closely ad-

joining to each other, sometimes near the top or middle of the urn, but also not unfrequently near the bottom.

⁹ One had an overhanging rim ornamented upon the rim and below it with impressions of a pointed oval instrument. The other two had impressions of cord upon them.

I think, be a doubt that a subsequent burial had taken place in an already completed house, and that the first burials had been in part disturbed by the second, possibly that of some member of the family over whose remains the tumulus had originally been raised. This secondary interment lay 4 ft. S.E. of the centre, when, on digging about 2 ft. below the surface of the house, we came upon a flat stone; this covered an urn, standing upright, and carefully



Fig. 14.

packed round with charcoal. About one-third part of the urn was filled with burnt bones;¹ above these, the remaining space was occupied by charcoal, and by a second urn placed within the first in an inverted position, and full of soil, with a few burnt bones. Amongst the bones in the larger urn was a calcined flint² (fig. 14), 2 in. long, and $\frac{7}{8}$ in. wide, which has lost a portion of the broader end during the burning. It is taken off the original core or nucleus at one slice on the one side, having the other side carefully chipped along both edges. It is not an arrow-head, and is perhaps one of the many

types of the "thumb-flint."

The larger urn (fig. 15) is 13 in. high, $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide at the mouth, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the lower edge of the overhanging rim; the inside of the lip has two lines of impressed cord running round it. The rim, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in depth, is ornamented by five lines of angular impressions, made apparently by the end of a square-cut piece of wood. Below the rim the urn falls perpendicularly for 3 in., and then slopes away to the bottom, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter; the perpendicular portion has six lines of impressions, probably made by a knot tied into a thong. The smaller urn (fig. 15*), found inverted within the larger one and shaped like it, is 7 in. high, 6 in. wide at the mouth, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the bottom of the overhanging rim. The inside of the lip is ornamented in the same way as that of the larger one; the outside has a line of short

¹ The bones are of a single person, scarcely of full age, probably of either a woman or a small man.

² A similar-shaped flint, there called

an arrow-head, is noticed, Arch. Journ., vol. viii. p. 344. It was found in an urn in a barrow at Broughton, Lincolnshire.



Fig. 15*.—Height 7 inches, width at the mouth 6 inches.

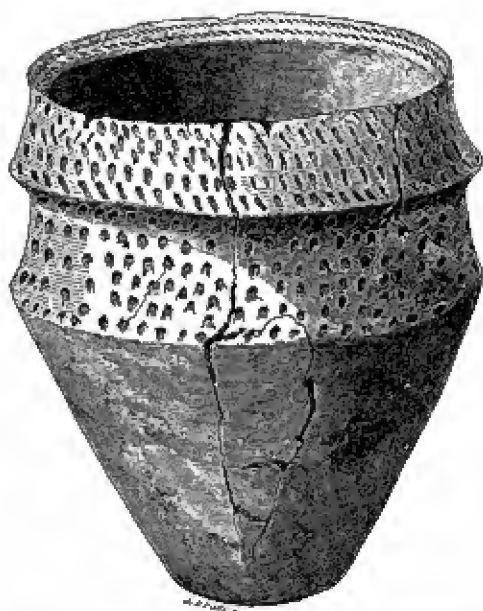
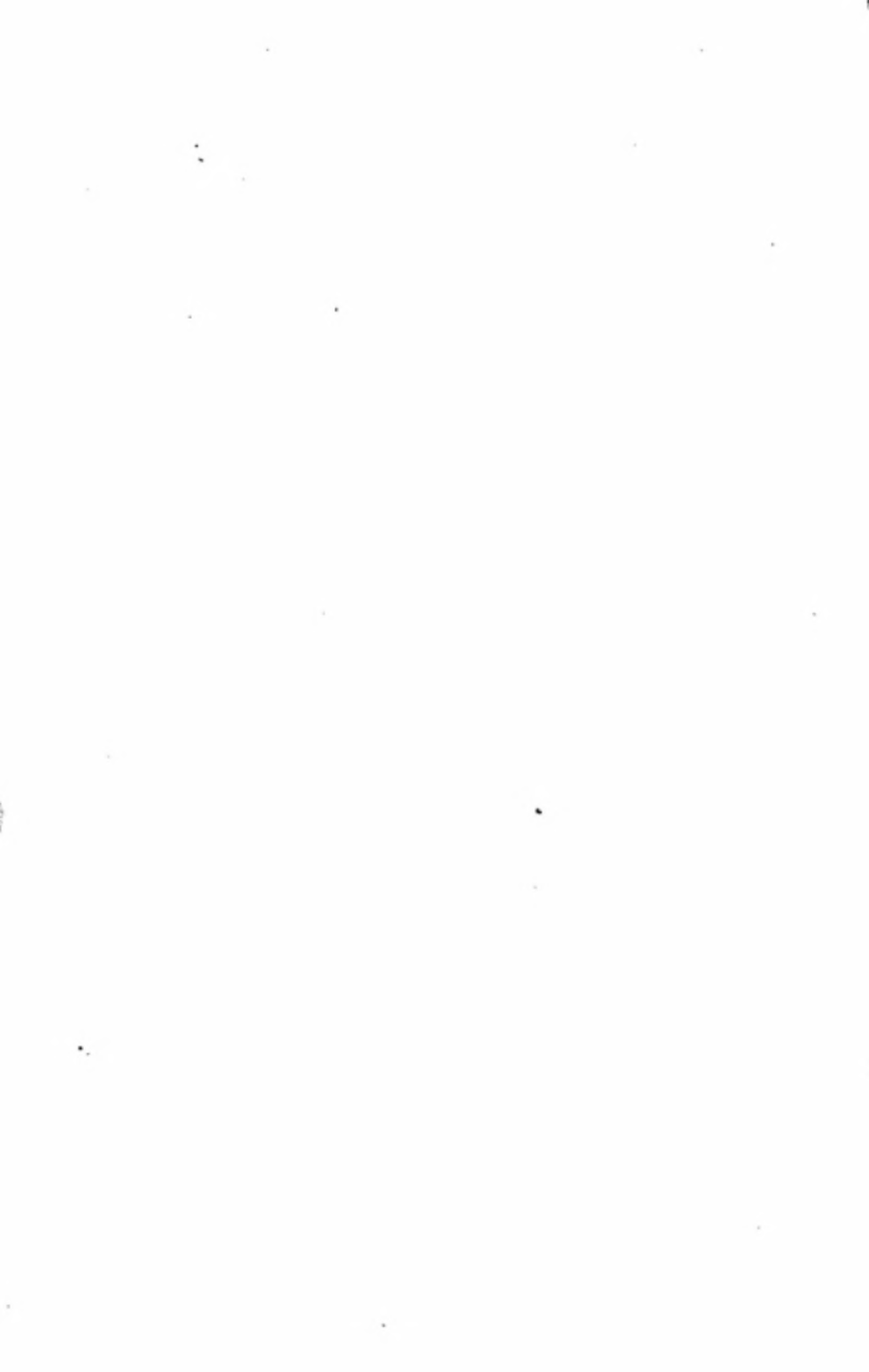


Fig. 15.—Height 13 inches, width at the mouth 10½ inches.
Urns found in a Barrow on Wykeham Moor.



slanting impressions, made probably by the end of a piece of wood; and the bottom of the rim is similarly marked, except that the impressions slope in the other direction, the interval being filled in alternately with vertical and horizontal lines of impressed cord. The perpendicular portion, below the rim, has four lines of short impressed marks around it. About 6 ft. S.W. of the centre, and just below the surface of the houe, were three stones, and under them a deposit of burnt bones, with an urn crushed and decayed. This urn is 6 in. in diameter at the mouth, $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the base of the rim, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in depth, and 3 in. in diameter at the bottom; the height has, probably, been about 7 in. The rim, which is overhanging, has one line of impressed cord at the top, and alternate series of vertical and horizontal lines of similar impressions occupying the remainder. Amongst the bones was a portion of a large and well-made barbed arrow-head of flint, calcined, and three other fragments of flint, likewise calcined. Just S.E. of the large central urn, and like it placed on the natural surface of the ground, was a very rudely-made urn, 7 in. high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the mouth, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the base of the rim, which is overhanging, and marked with irregularly-placed impressions, apparently of loosely-twisted cord. In the urn and around it were burnt bones, amongst which was a small-barbed arrow-head of calcined flint. This houe showed more signs of burning than any I have examined; the south side had on the surface of the ground a great quantity of burnt earth and stones, and the north side had large portions of charcoal; in fact, for about 5 ft. in width and 1 ft. in depth, running through the houe, the entire material was charcoal; many of the pieces were large, one being 11 in. long, 7 in. deep, and 7 in. wide.³

³ In barrows where many urns, evidently of contemporaneous deposition, and all containing burnt bones, are found, it is difficult to understand how it happened that so many persons were buried at the same time. We may suppose that, occasionally, an epidemic or a battle had caused many deaths, and therefore the necessity for several burials at one time, but the finding of more than one interment in a barrow is so common that such a mode of accounting for it seems scarcely satisfactory. It has oc-

curred to me, that the dead may have been burnt and inurned, and then kept unburied until at the decease, perhaps, of the head of the family, a barrow was raised over his remains, when the other members who had died before him, and whose burnt bodies were preserved, each in its urn, were placed in the tumulus with him. This feature may also be accounted for on the supposition that some of these burnt bodies are the remains of wives or other persons slain at the burial of the chief.

The second house [Q] was 28 ft. in diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high. It was formed of sand, and had a ring of stones round the base. We soon found that it had been previously opened, both in the centre and upon every side except the south, where, a few feet from the centre, standing upright and placed upon the surface of the ground, we found an urn containing burnt bones.⁴ This urn is $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 11 in. wide at the mouth, and 12 in. at the bottom of the overhanging rim, which is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in depth, and has five irregular lines of circular-dotted holes running round it; below the rim it descends perpendicularly for $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., and then falls away to the bottom, which is $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. Amongst the bones were two fragments of calcined flint.

On September 7th, 8th, and 9th, by permission of the late Earl of Carlisle, I opened three barrows on Hall Moor, near Castle Howard. These were in an unusual position, being in a valley, and though those I examined were not on the lowest part, yet one, previously disturbed, was close by the stream which runs through the hollow. The first mound [R], 56 ft. in diameter, and 6 ft. high, was of mixed clay and sand, very firmly compacted, and difficult to dig into. We began by cutting a trench, 10 ft. wide, into the barrow upon the north side; this was carried through the centre, where, to our disappointment, we found that an opening had been made previously. This opening had been cut down to the bottom of the barrow, and the interments disturbed. They had been placed in a circular hollow in the natural surface, 2 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. deep. The burnt bodies had been deposited in or with four urns,⁵ and placed in this hollow;

⁴ The bones are those of a single body, of a person of moderate size; age from 25 to 30 years.

⁵ Two of these have been large urns, and two much smaller. The first of the larger urns had been a fine specimen, with an overhanging rim $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, ornamented with five lines of short, sharp-ended oval impressions running round the urn, whilst the inside of the lip had a similar line of roundish-shaped impressions. Below the rim for a space of 3 in., as much of the urn as is now left has lines of impressions similar to those on the rim. The second large urn had an overhanging rim ornamented with lines of impressed cord, those on the only piece which is left are horizontal;

the inside of the lip had three, if not more, similar lines round the circumference. One of the smaller urns had, on the overhanging rim, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, two lines at the top and three at the bottom of impressions made by a very delicate cord, the intervening space being filled in with three rows of short parallel lines, made by the same kind of cord, herring-bone fashion, these rows being divided from each other by a line similar to those which encompassed the urn at the top and bottom of the rim; the lip had on the inside a similar encompassing line. A small fragment, probably of the same urn, has a fine diamond pattern of delicate impressed cord, and below this three lines of impressions of

but the urns had been broken at the former opening, the bones taken out, and reburied in a hole made near the surface of the barrow, just south of the centre, and the greater part of the broken urns carried away or thrown aside. At the bottom of the hollow, and just under the bottom of an urn which had not been disturbed, was a round, thick, well-formed "thumb-flint" (fig. 16). At the centre of the barrow, and just below its surface, several stones were laid over the spot where the principal interments had been deposited; this is an incident of not unusual occurrence. Amongst the bones which had been taken



Fig. 16.—Thumb-Flint;
original size.

out of the urns were several pieces of calcined flint. When we got within 15 ft. of the outside of the barrow, upon the S.E. side, about 2 ft. from the surface of the house, we came upon an urn placed upright and filled with burnt bones. This urn, rudely made and decayed, is $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, 12 in. wide at the mouth, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the bottom of the overhanging rim, and 4 in. at the bottom of the urn. The rim, 3 in. deep, is ornamented with impressions irregularly placed, and forming no pattern; below the rim the urn falls away perpendicularly for 3 in., and then slopes to the bottom. Amongst the burnt bones within was a flint knife, of the same shape as that from "The Tremblers" (fig. 7); it is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide. It had been burnt with the body, and during the burning it had splintered into six pieces; this is the only instance in which I have been able to put together the fragments of an implement which had been placed upon the funeral pile, and had become shattered during the burning. Scattered amongst the material of the barrow were flint chippings, and also a small round "thumb-flint."

The second barrow [s], formed of sand, was 16 ft. in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high. The interment, of a burnt body, was at the centre, in a hollow about 12 in. in diameter and 6 in. below the surface of the ground. Over this hollow, and

similar cord encompassing the urn. The second of the smaller urns had the overhanging rim, which is $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, orna-

mented by lines of impressed cord, also very delicate, encompassing the urn.

overlapping the place of the deposit, was a layer of charcoal, 1 in. thick, whilst above the charcoal, and extending through the whole barrow, was a layer of clay and sand, about 4 in. thick, evidently indurated by fire. Amongst the material of this house was a single piece of calcined flint.

The third and most remarkable barrow [T] was situated about 50 yards from the last; it was 60 ft. in diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and of loose sand. We cut a trench 10 ft. wide through the centre, from the N. to the S. side. Three feet from the surface of the barrow we came upon a stratum of sand, gravel, and clay, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, burnt into a hard mass;⁶ this extended throughout all that part which we examined; at and around the centre it was almost as hard and red-colored as brick, and must have been subjected to strong, long-continued fire before it could have undergone so great a change. This barrow thus contained the like burnt stratum as the last, but the interment in this case was above and not beneath it. The burnt remains, reduced to a small compass, had been deposited at the centre, resting upon the burnt stratum; with the bones was an urn (fig. 17), rather rudely formed, but of well-baked clay, with an unburnt "thumb-flint" of the long type, 2 in. in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide. The urn, similar to that found in William house (p. 17), of the so-called "food-vessel" type, is 5 in. high, 6 in. wide at the mouth, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the bottom. The lines of impression



Fig. 17.—Height of original,
5 inches.

by which the pattern is formed are those of a square-ended piece of wood or bone; some of them are produced by the application of the end, and others by the side of such an implement. The burnt stratum, extending throughout the barrow, is a very singular feature. With the exception of these two cases, I have seen no other. It is not an unfrequent occurrence to find spots in a barrow where burning⁷ has taken place, but

these extend over comparatively a small area, and do not show signs of a large or long-continued fire, whilst those in

⁶ "About a yard from the bottom, a thin ferruginous seam ran through the mound, perfectly solid and hard, like pottery, which might possibly be the

effect of heat."—Bateman's *Ten Years' Digging*, p. 62.

⁷ I do not think that these have been places where a body was burnt, the space

question have the burnt matter extending throughout the area, and everything indicates a lengthened burning.

The last barrow examined [v] was quite out of the district in which those previously described are situated, but in one which, like it, abounds in early remains. It was at Scale House, in the parish of Rylston, near Skipton, in Craven; it was opened on October 25th. The barrow, 30 feet in diameter and 5 feet high, was of clay, and had a shallow ditch around it, close to the base. Over the centre and just beneath the surface was a layer of flat stones, carefully arranged. Under this the clay was well packed, and lay upon a thin stratum of dark earthy matter, full of charcoal. Below this was a layer of finer clay, better worked than that above the earthy matter. Beneath this, carefully embedded in it, was an oaken coffin laid upon clay, among which were a few stones, apparently to support the coffin, placed in a hollow in the surface of the ground. The coffin was formed of the trunk of an oak,⁸ split in two and then hollowed; the trunk was 7 ft. 3 in. long, and 23 in. wide, cut off at each end and partly rounded, but not squared at the sides. The hollow within was 6 ft. 4 in. long and 12 in. wide, roughly cut out, showing marks of the tool; the ends finished off square. The coffin, much broken and decayed, but perfect enough to exhibit its arrangements, was laid N. and S., having the thicker end, which had probably held the head of the body, to the S. No trace of the body was discoverable beyond an unctuous whitish substance, the remains, as chemical analysis showed, of animal matter. The corpse had been enveloped in a woollen shroud,⁹ of which enough remained to show that the whole body had been wrapped in it. It was, as might be expected, very rotten, so that it was impossible to remove more than small portions; these, however, are sufficiently perfect to show the material and fabric.¹

is not large enough to contain so great a mass of wood as would be required for the funeral pile. I believe that they are, rather, the sites of the fires at which the burial-feast was cooked.

⁸ Similar coffins have been found in barrows in Denmark; one at Bolderup, North Slesvig, in 1827, and another near Flynder church, in Jutland, in 1863; within this last were the remains of a garment, and a bronze dagger.—*Gent. Mag.*, 1863, vol. ii. p. 328.

⁹ In a grave-mound called King Barrow, near Stowborough, Dorset, was found in 1767 an oaken trunk hollowed, containing remains of an unburnt body wrapped in deer skins sewed together, which had been passed, apparently, several times round the corpse. At the S.E. end of the coffin was a small wooden vessel, of very unusual character, figured in *Hutchins' Dorset*, vol. i. p. 25.

¹ A small portion of woollen fabric, very much like this in texture, was found

It is of a dark brown color, probably due to the tannin in the oak, whilst to the acid in the wood, set free by the percolation of water through the barrow, is perhaps to be attributed the total destruction of the bones.² The woollen fabric, of coarse and loose texture, has apparently been woven by a kind of platting process without a loom; in this opinion Mr. James Yates concurs, and no more competent authority on such matters is known to me. Nothing, except this woollen stuff, was found in the coffin, nor was anything besides a few fragments of charcoal discovered in the mound. We are thus left without much evidence to determine to what people this very remarkable interment may belong, no weapons or implements having been deposited with it. But if we take into consideration the size, shape, and make of the barrow, the encircling ditch, the stones placed over the centre, the presence of charcoal and signs of burning, I see no reason to hesitate in referring it to the same people who usually placed the body in a stone cist within the mound, but who, in this and other instances, for some unknown cause, departed from their usual practice. This mode of interment is certainly rare,³ although burials in cleft and hollowed trees, without any grave-mound, are not uncommon.⁴

Such is the record of my Yorkshire barrow-diggings

by Mr. Mortimer, of Fimber, amongst a deposit of burnt bones, in a barrow on the Wolds, near that place.

² At Featherston Castle, in Northumberland, where several coffins similar to this have been found in a wet situation, the bones had entirely decayed, except in one instance, where, however, all the earthy part had disappeared; leaving the bones of a substance very much like leather. The hollows within the bones were filled with the rare mineral *vivianite*.

³ Besides the well-known burial at Gristhorp, I know of three other cases in Yorkshire, in which an oak coffin was discovered in a barrow. One at Sunderlandwick, near Driffield, where, I believe, nothing was found in the coffin except the bones; the second on the Wolds near Fimber, where, under a mound which had been previously opened, Mr. Mortimer discovered in a hollow sunk in the rock a coffin, made from a cleft trunk of an oak, much damaged by the former opening. With the broken coffin,

besides fragments of bone, was a small portion of an urn. It is possible that this may not have been in the coffin originally, but may have been brought into contact with it when the persons who first opened the barrow filled in their excavation. The third was in a barrow called "Center Hill," at West Tanfield, near Ripon, where the Rev. W. C. Lukis, in 1864, found the remains of an unburnt body, lying N.E. and S.W., within what had once been a wooden coffin, probably the trunk of a tree. This had been placed in a cavity 18 in. deep, made in the surface of the ground. With the body were a flint implement and a rudely-ornamented urn. Sir R. C. Hoare met with three barrows in Wilts, in each of which was a body, placed in a hollow tree; with them were found bronze implements of the ordinary kind.

⁴ They have been discovered in Yorkshire, near Beverley, and at Selby. In other parts of England they have occurred repeatedly.

during the year 1864, which I have endeavored to make as concise as possible, consistently with giving a full account of the facts observed. A few questions suggested by these facts remain to be considered, and to these I now address myself, with much diffidence, because our data are so few and in many cases so obscure, that it becomes difficult even to one's own mind to arrive at any distinct conclusion, much more to make that clear to the minds of others.

The first and most important question is this,—to what people and to what date are these remains to be attributed; and if they are the burial-memorials of one race, have we evidence to enable us to divide the time of their erection into any distinct periods? I only refer here to the round barrows and their builders, the subject of the “long barrows,” and the people who made them, having been considered in a former part of this memoir, p. 100; neither do I include the Danes Dale barrows in the inquiry.

I have no hesitation in assigning these grave-memorials to the tribes who inhabited the country previous to the Roman invasion. They cannot have been raised either during that occupation or after the Roman power had ceased, for in that case the associated pottery, weapons, and implements would doubtless have shown some trace of Roman art. This is only negative evidence, but in some cases, and this is one, negative evidence is incontrovertible. Taking then for granted that these barrows date from an earlier period than Roman times, is it possible to arrive at any conclusion as to the age at which the earliest were constructed? I do not think that, with our present knowledge, it is safe to lay down even an approximate date, though it may be safely allowed that they go back to an age many centuries before our era. In Cæsar's day iron was the common material for the weapons of the people who opposed him in Britain, and it must have been in use for some considerable period before his landing, or it would not have been the ordinary metal for arms and implements. These barrows, however, exhibit no instance of the occurrence of iron, and though, from its greater liability to oxidation than bronze, it is much more perishable, yet, if iron articles had been commonly deposited with these burials, some trace of that metal must have been discovered. We may then, I think, justly assign to these interments an antiquity greater

than that of the ordinary use of iron⁵ in Britain, and thus at once carry them back many centuries before the Christian era. It might seem, indeed, judging from the contents of the barrows, which show a paucity of bronze and an abundance of flint implements, that the greater number were formed before the introduction of bronze, but this would, I think, be an erroneous conclusion. I believe that bronze was in use during the whole period through which this mode of interment prevailed; the absence of bronze and the presence of flint is no proof that these people were ignorant of that metal. We find bronze and flint associated together with the same interment, which shows their concurrent use. We also frequently find in a barrow, which contained several burials, one of them having an article of bronze deposited with it, whilst the others have relics of flint, which shows either that the more valuable material was rarely placed in the grave, or that the weapons and implements of bronze were not those which it was the custom to bury with the dead. The most common articles found with interments are arrow-heads, knives, and "thumb flints" or scrapers; these were always, even in the height of the bronze period, made of flint. Articles such as swords, spear-heads, and celts, which were of bronze, appear, on the contrary, only on the rarest occasions to have been interred with their owners. Daggers and pins are not unusual adjuncts to the tomb, but a dagger accompanies only a male burial, and not all of them; we can therefore only expect to find it in some barrows, and as a bone pin would answer the same purpose⁶ as a bronze one, and was much less valuable, it was more frequently used at the burial. In this way, the

⁵ The occurrence of iron with interments of a pre-Roman time is very rare. It was found at Arras in the East Riding, in the form of chariot wheels, in connection with unburnt bodies, and with bronze articles, having a style of ornamentation of the same character as that of the Stanwick, Polden Hill, and other finds, the bronze shields of the Witham and Thames, and the bronze sheaths of certain iron swords. I have an iron javelin-head found in a cist with a bronze buckle, and an urn of the flower-pot shape, covered with lines of herring-bone pattern, cut and not impressed upon the clay, accompanying an unburnt body. This was discovered at Tosson in North-

umberland, where four cists were placed close together, without any indication of a mound having ever covered them. The skull, a brachycephalic and very typical one, with the urn and other objects, is engraved in *Crania Britannica*, pl. 54.

⁶ Pins were probably used to fasten the garment in which the body was wrapped before burning, or the cloth in which the burnt bones were collected, and therefore, as they were not placed in the grave, like the dagger or the arrow-head, for an after use or from a pious feeling, we need not be surprised that pins of the less valuable material were ordinarily used.

absence of bronze, though at the period a common material, may be accounted for, without supposing that, where it is not found, it was unknown at the time when the interment took place. Its absence may also arise from its decay; in several instances I have found a fragment of bronze so small that a very little longer time, or greater exposure to the atmosphere and wet, would have destroyed all trace of it. It is possible that, in many interments where no bronze is discovered, it may have existed, but have become quite destroyed.⁷ If we grant, then, that the absence of bronze is no proof that it was not in use, and I think we need not hesitate to allow this, we may perhaps carry our conclusions further, and admit that, where we find one interment without bronze, the other accompaniments of which are similar to those which we find with another interment where bronze is present, the two belong to the same people, and living, at the time of the raising of the two barrows, under much the same conditions. I cannot perceive any distinctive difference between barrows where bronze has been found, and those in which only flint has accompanied the interment, when I have regard to the other details of the burials. The shape and the size of the mounds, and the manner in which they have been thrown up, the way in which the bodies have been deposited, the character of the pottery, both as regards material, shape and ornamentation, and the nature of the flint implements are the same in both cases.

The conclusion, therefore, to which I feel obliged to come is this, that the grave-hills under consideration⁸ are the work of one people, and that they were raised during a period which, ending some centuries before our era, goes back to a time many centuries before that date. Nor can I doubt that this people, from wherever they came, arrived in this coun-

⁷ This may appear inconsistent with a previous statement regarding the absence of iron, where it is argued that because no trace of it is found, it had never been placed in the barrow. This apparent inconsistency, however, may be explained by the fact, well known to those who have examined ancient burial-places, that whilst bronze, in its decay, leaves few or no traces, iron, on the contrary, betrays its former presence by the ferruginous oxide which invariably remains. I have, in more than one instance,

seen a bone, where a slight trace of green color showed that some bronze article had once been in contact with it, but where every other trace of the metal was wanting.

⁸ I would be understood here to refer only to barrows and interments before the knowledge of iron, a knowledge which, whether arising in Britain itself or coming in from abroad, I believe commenced about two or three centuries before Christ.

try bringing a knowledge of bronze, and also that from the time of their arrival they used it for certain weapons and implements, whilst they used for other articles the commoner material, namely flint.⁹

Another important question connected with the burial of this people is that of cremation and inhumation. Were their earliest interments of unburnt or of burnt bodies? The barrows, which I opened in Yorkshire do not, as will have been seen, afford any evidence to settle this question. But if the facts recorded of Mr. Ruddock's operations in the same district, given in Bateman's "Ten Years' Diggings," can be depended upon, we may assume that the earliest burials were of unburnt bodies. He found in many instances under burnt bodies, deposited sometimes with, at other times without, urns, cists sunk in the ground, and containing skeletons with no signs of burning. With many of these skeletons, urns and articles of bronze and flint were associated. The lowest interment must unquestionably have been the earliest, and it may be that we have in such cases the burial-mound of a family, used through a considerable period, during which the mode of interment had changed. At the same time it is possible that these different burials may have been almost contemporaneous, and that at the same period some bodies were burnt whilst others were buried unburnt.¹ A comparison of the articles of bronze

⁹ I believe that the introduction of iron gave the last blow to the use of flint. When once the manufacture of that metal was understood, the ore is so common, and the metal so easily wrought, that it could not fail to supersede flint, which the use of bronze, a more expensive and scarcer commodity, had been unable to supersede. Whilst flint and bronze are commonly associated together with interments, I do not know that flint has ever, except on the rarest occasions, been found with a burial where iron weapons or implements accompanied the body. It is true that the late Mr. Bateman records, in his "Vestiges" and "Ten Years' Diggings," instances where iron and flint occurred together; but his examinations were not made with such care, or his accounts given with that clearness, which allow us to depend upon them as trustworthy evidences.

¹ I have no doubt that inhumation and cremation were practised at the same time. In fact there must have

been a period, during which the new mode was coming into use, when both were prevalent; but, besides this time of change, I believe that, for some unknown cause, during the time that cremation was in use, some bodies were interred unburnt, and *vice versa*. I opened a barrow in Northumberland, which had a central cist containing an unburnt body of a child, and an urn of the late type, whilst, placed round the cist, were nine interments of burnt bodies enclosed in urns. As far as I was able to judge, the mound had been raised at one and the same time. Trans. Berwickshire Nat. Club., vol. iv. p. 390. At Acklam Wold, in the East Riding, were ten or twelve barrows, some of which were opened in 1849 by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club. In these unburnt remains were found, evidently the principal interments, and associated with them were burials of burnt bodies, one of which had apparently been placed near the skeleton when the bones were hot,

and flint discovered with the several interments would have been a great help to the settlement of this question, but unfortunately no engravings of these are given.² Into this inquiry I do not purpose entering more fully, since the facts resulting from my own diggings do not bear upon it.

I will now add a few remarks in examination of the circumstances connected with burials after cremation,³ chiefly with reference to the urns accompanying these interments. Two very different types of urns are found with burnt bodies, though the implements of flint which accompany each of these types are precisely similar. I believe that this variety of urns mark two periods during the time in which cremation prevailed. In the one case the urn accompanies the burnt bones, but does not contain them; in the other, and which I conceive to be the earlier, the bones are contained within the urn, usually placed upright, but not unfrequently found inverted. The urns of what I regard as the earlier period, and which strictly speaking are alone cinerary urns, are large, of coarser materials⁴ than the later urns, thick, and having a considerable mixture of broken stone amongst the clay; the ornamentation is usually made by impressed cord, sometimes by impressions of a round or oval-ended instrument, or of a knot tied into a thong; they

for the knees were completely charred. These barrows, judging from the urns found in them, were of the later unburnt period.—See *Crania Britannica*, pl. 31.

² The want of figures of the urns and implements found with the burials, is a great drawback to the usefulness of Mr. Bateman's records of his diggings, for without these it is quite impossible to judge accurately of the facts related. Nor can they be regarded as careful or clear accounts of a most extensive series of barrow openings; there is a vagueness of description and a looseness of expression which detract from their value.

³ A mode of burial of burnt bodies is found, which some suppose to belong to an earlier period than that in which the calcined bones are placed in an urn, but which more probably marks the graves of persons of humbler rank, than those over whom the larger tumuli were raised. The mounds over these interments are small, and the bones are contained in a circular hollow sunk in the ground without any urn, this hollow, in fact, being a receptacle similar to an urn, and supply-

ing its place. I know of an instance near the village of Ford, in Northumberland, where about thirty of these circular hollows occurred close together, and each covered with a flat stone, on the under side of two of which the concentric circular markings were engraved. Nothing, except some calcined flint chip-pings, was found with these burials, which may, perhaps, be regarded as interments of the mass of the community. As the land had long been under cultivation, all trace of mounds over them, if any ever existed, had disappeared.

⁴ Rudeness of fabric is no criterion of the age of an urn. It is not an unfrequent occurrence to find, lying almost side by side in the same barrow, urns beautifully made and ornamental, with others of the roughest make and commonest description. It may be well to correct a mistake which has very commonly been made regarding the urns of the barrows; they have been, and still are, called sun-baked. None such, however, occur in Britain: all of them have had more or less the action of fire.

have almost universally an overhanging rim,⁵ to which, and to the part immediately below it, the ornamentation is confined. They have also frequently a smaller urn placed within them, sometimes of the same shape as the larger urn, but in other instances plain, and of the so-called "incense-cup" type. In tumuli which contain interments where an urn encloses the bones, three other contemporaneous modes of interring a burnt body are found.⁶ The first, where the bones are simply placed in the mound without an urn or any provision to keep them separate from the surrounding earth; the second, where, with the bones, is deposited a small urn, of the "incense-cup" type, usually however of better make and more elaborate ornamentation than those "incense-cups" which are found within another urn; the third, where the bones are placed in a cist made of stones, when they are generally mixed amongst sand and gravel. Instances of the occurrence of the first two modes are recorded in this memoir; the last, I have met with in Northumberland. With all these modes of burial, relics of flint, both burnt and unburnt, are found associated, such as arrow-heads, knives, and "thumb-flints."

The second class of urns,⁷ and which I suppose to belong to a later period, do not, as in the case of the earlier urns, contain the burnt bones, but are placed alongside or amongst them. They are small, generally about 5 in. high, and of well-worked clay, without any or a very small mixture of broken stone. Their ornamentation is generally formed by impressions of pointed or square-ended implements, probably of bone or wood, and it is confined to the upper parts of the urn; in some cases, however, the old style of impressed cord is found, but applied after a different fashion to that of the urns of the earlier period. They are usually more or less of the flower-pot shape, and never have the overhanging

⁵ I can scarcely regard this peculiar feature, the overhanging rim, and the consequent form of the urn as accidental, or arising out of the nature of its fabrication, or as being merely added by way of ornament. I believe it to have reference to a symbolic representation of reproduction and regeneration, and to be another form of the symbol which is carried in the hand of the gods of Assyria, in the shape of the pine-cone: in fact, that it is a phallic emblem.

⁶ I have never met with all the four modes in one barrow, but on more than one occasion I have found three of them in connection. It would be unsafe to draw any conclusion as to difference of time from the varied manner in which the burnt bones are deposited in the grave-mounds, the only certain test, I believe, is the type of the urns.

⁷ Specimens are figured, see figs. 8, 17.

rim so characteristic of the urns which contain the burnt remains. I have not met with this class associated with the cinerary urn.

It remains to notice a class of urns which occur with a system of burial that superseded cremation, if not entirely, to a considerable extent, and which, commencing before the knowledge of iron, continued until after the introduction of that metal. This, the burial of an unburnt body, usually in a stone cist,⁸ is rare in Yorkshire as compared with burial after cremation, though common in Northumberland and other parts of Britain. Many articles of use or ornament are found with these interments, such as bronze dagger-blades, javelin-heads, &c., also buttons and necklaces of jet, these last being frequently well made and ornamented. The urns are of two types, both being of fine clay and thin fabric, and generally ornamented over the whole surface. One type, the "food-vessel" of Bateman's classification, approaches closely in shape and style of ornament to the second class of urns found with burnt bodies, but it differs from them in having the ornamentation spread over the whole surface, and also in having it frequently made, not by impressions, but by lines drawn upon the clay by a sharp-pointed instrument. They range in height from 3 in. to 8 or 9 in. The other class, the so-called "drinking-cup," is still more highly decorated, of thinner fabric, and shows greater variety in pattern than the last. It has occurred very sparingly in the district to which this memoir refers.⁹ The urns of this type are from 7 in. to 10 in. high, and the usual shape, though there are several varieties, has a globular bottom, narrows about the middle, and then widens again towards the mouth. The urns of both these types are found placed upright by the side of the body, and as nothing save a little dust has been discovered in them, it is difficult

⁸ In many instances where cists have been discovered there is no appearance of a barrow. I think it possible that in all cases a mound, however slight it might be, was originally raised over the grave. This, in situations which have been under cultivation, would soon disappear, and therefore we cannot argue, from the absence of a barrow, that none ever existed. As these burials belong to the later period, the mound was never, probably, of large size.

⁹ In widening the road at Orchard Hills near Egton Bridge, in 1861, a cist formed of four stones, with a cover, was discovered. It contained an urn and three pieces of bronze, now lost, probably portions of a dagger; the body had disappeared. The urn, of which I have a fragment (fig. 18, one-fifth orig. size), was of the "drinking cup" type, and of rather unusual style of ornamentation.

to say what purpose they fulfilled in the tomb ; the most probable supposition is that they contained offerings of food and drink.

I will now briefly recapitulate the conclusions at which I have arrived with regard to the various methods of interment, and their succession in date, which prevailed in Yorkshire—probably also throughout the greater part of Britain—previous to the Roman invasion.

The first sepulchral remains are, I believe, the interments of unburnt bodies in the "Long Barrows," the burial-places of a race whose skulls are markedly dolichocephalic, and who were, so far as our knowledge extends, unacquainted with metal. They were succeeded, and probably to some extent extirpated, by another race, who brought with them acquaintance with bronze, to the use of which it is not unlikely that they owed their superiority over the previous people. The skull of this bronze-using race is brachycephalic, and the barrows which they raised are round. It is doubtful whether their earliest interments are of unburnt bodies or not ; my own experience does not enable me to come to a decision upon this question. They practised cremation, however, during a long period, if indeed they did not bring the use of it with them. This period may, I think, be divided into two stages ; the first, when the burnt body was deposited in an urn, or cist, or hollow sunk in the

ground, or simply placed upon the ground under the mound ; the second, when an urn of a different type from that which contained the body was deposited with and amongst the calcined bones, which were no doubt at the same time frequently also interred without any urn. With all these interments after cremation articles of bronze, usually pins, but sometimes daggers, objects of flint, both burnt and unburnt, sometimes fabricated implements, at other times mere flakes, stone hatchets, bone pins, and jet ornaments, are found deposited.

To cremation succeeded burial without burning, in general under a smaller mound, and in many

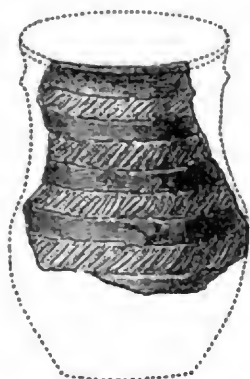


Fig. 18.—Fragment of Urn,
Orchard Hills.

cases where no signs of a barrow having existed are observable. With these burials, urns of two types, the "food-vessel," and the "drinking-cup," are associated, together with bronze daggers and flint implements of the same types as those found with the burnt body, and also with jet and other ornaments. During the latter part of this period, when inhumation was the ordinary mode of burial, iron came into use; and it is probable that this kind of interment prevailed until Roman manners changed it: but even then, many Romanized Britons retained their old method of burial, as the cemeteries near Roman stations abundantly show. Indeed in some parts of Britain it may have lasted until Christianity altogether abolished burial under grave-mounds.

No.	Derivation of Skull.	Probable		I Cubic Capacity.	II Circumference.	III Length.	IV Breadth.	V Height.	VI Face.		A. Breadth: Length =1.00.	B. Height: Length =1.00.
		Sex.	Age.						Length.	Breadth.		
1	Long Barrow, near Ebberston (Secondary)	M.	65	88	20.6	7.1	5.75 p.	5.6	—	—	.80	.77
2	" " (Primary)	M.	60	83	20.3	7.3	5.2 p.	5.1	—	—	.71	.69
3	" " "	F.	60	—	21.4	8.3	4.7 p.	—	—	—	.56	—
4	" " "	F.	40	—	—	7.3	5.2 p.	—	—	—	.71	—
5	" " "	M.	20	—	20.7	7.7	5.2 p.	5.5	—	—	.67	.71
	Averages of 2 Skulls of Men.			83	20.5	7.5	5.2	5.3	—	—	.69	.70
	Averages of 2 Skulls of Women.				21.4	7.8	4.95	—	—	—	.64	—
	Averages of 25 Male Long-Barrow Skulls from Table I. Mem. Anthrop. Soc., vol. i.			99	21.6	7.7	5.5	5.7	4.5	5.1	.71	.74
	Averages of 30 Male Skulls, Table II. <i>Ibid.</i>			98	21	7.6	5.3	5.6	4.4	5.1	.70	.73
	Averages of 20 Female Skulls, Table II. <i>Ibid.</i>			90	20.4	7.3	5.2	5.3	4.3	4.9	.71	.72
1	Danes' Graves (1864), No. 2.	M.	40	101	20.6	7.4	5.25 p.	5.7	4.4	5.1	.70	.77
2	" " " 6	M.	60	97	21.1	7.5	5.6 p.	5.8	—	—	.75	.77
3	" " " 8	F.	45	82	19.9	6.9	5.5 p.	5.4	—	—	.70	.78
4	" " " 9	F.	5	78	18	4.8 p.	5.4	3	—	—	.73	.82
5	" " " 10	F.	45	86	19.7	7.2	5.1 p.	5.6	4.4	—	.70	.77
6	" " " 11	M.	40	94	20.3	7.95	5.2 p.	5.4	4.4	5	.71	.74
7	Danes' Graves (1849), No. 1.	F.	—	—	20	7.2	5.3 p.	5.8	—	—	.73	.80
8	" " " 2	F.	—	88	20	7.2	5.2 p.	5.4	—	—	.72	.75
9	" " " 3	F.	40	86.5	19.7	7.2	5.2 p.	5.6	4.3	—	.75	.77
10	" " " 4	M.	35	85.5	20.2	7.2	5.4 p.	5.6	4.1	4.6	.75	—
11	" " " 5	M.	45	91.5	20.2	7.2	5.5 p.	5.4	4.6	—	.76	—
	Averages of 5 Skulls of Men			94	20.5	7.3	5.4	5.6	4.4	4.9	.73	.76
	Averages of 5 Skulls of Women			85.5	19.9	7.1	5.2	5.5	4.35	—	.73	.77

Original Documents.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF IEVAN AP KENRIC VAGHAN, DATED A.D. 1361, 36 EDW. III.; TO WHICH IS APPENDED HIS WILL.

From the Muniments at Peniarth, Montgomeryshire.

Communicated by W. WATKIN E. WYNNE, Esq.

Amongst MSS. and documentary evidences formerly preserved at Nannau, Merionethshire, in the possession of the late Sir Robert Williams Vaughan, Bart., by whom they were bequeathed on his decease in 1859 to Mr. Wynne, the following Inventory and Will have been found. This little document, of comparatively earlier date than the majority of those of a like description relating to the Principality, containing also certain particulars of general interest, has been placed at our disposal by Mr. Wynne with his accustomed kindness.

Ievan ap Kenric Vaghan, or Vychan, the testator, seems to have resided near Aberdaron, on the western promontory of Caernarvonshire called Llyn, the extremity of which, known as Braich y Pwll, is supposed to be the *Canganorum Promontorium* of Ptolemy. He had possessions in the parish of Meylltyn and probably in some neighbouring parts; his dwelling is believed to have been at Trygarn, about a mile distant from that place. He had doubtless been in the position of a gentleman of old family in his county, and of moderate income. His personal possessions were small, his estate moreover encumbered, possibly through hospitality, which in that remote region, on the highway to Bardsey, it may have been difficult to withhold from the numerous devout pilgrims resorting to the Isle of Saints.

The subjoined document was, as already noticed, one of those that were received by Mr. Wynne with the Vaughan MSS. The late Sir Robert Vaughan had a large property in the promontory of Caernarvonshire, and "Plas Meylltern," the Hall of Meylltern, belonged to him; Mr. Wynne is not aware, however, that Sir Robert was descended from the Trygarn family.

The Inventory, it will be seen, was taken whilst the testator was still living, not, as more customary, after his decease; the enumeration of objects pledged and of his mortgages was doubtless written down from the declaration of the dying man. The Will is subjoined; it may deserve notice that it was made, if our reading of the imperfect writing on the damaged parchment be accepted, in the presence of John, abbot of Bardsey. This circumstance suggests the supposition that Ievan, harassed by the cares of his waning fortunes, may have actually sought refuge in the neighbouring Isle of Saints; on the other hand, the abbot may, possibly,

have been his kinsman: he was, doubtless, as head of so celebrated a monastery, a person of considerable influence in these parts, and his presence may have been desired by the testator by way of confirmation, in regard to his declaration of moneys which he had borrowed on the securities stated in his Inventory, and for the better authentication of his Will. In the brief enumeration of the abbots of Bardsey, given by Mr. Longueville Jones in his memoir on the Island and Monastery, Archæol. Camb., vol. i., first series, p. 63, no abbot named John is found previously to the sixteenth century. We are informed, however, by Mr. Wynne, that in the collection of pedigrees compiled by Robert Vaughan, the Merionethshire antiquary, about the middle of the seventeenth century, John, a younger son of Ievan ap Meredith, is stated to have been abbot of Bardsey,¹ and it seems probable that he may have been abbot as early as the date of the document which is here brought under the notice of our readers.

The descent of Ievan ap Kenric is of considerable interest as connected with the family history of North Wales. We are indebted to the kind courtesy of a friend at Beaumaris, Mr. John Williams, for a pedigree in which Ievan appears seventh in descent from Llowarch Hwlbwrch, or Olbiwch, said to have been Chamberlain and Treasurer to Prince Gruffud ap Llewelyn, who lived between A.D. 1037 and 1064. It is believed that Llowarch espoused a kinswoman of Gruffud ap Cynan, father of the celebrated Owen Gwynedd. Richard ap Kynwrig of Trygarn, Ievan's great grandson, was esquire to Edward IV. The heiress of this ancient race, Mary, daughter of Richard Trygarn, married John Griffith, Esq., of Carreglwyd in Anglesey.

The possessions and household effects of Ievan ap Kenric appear, as already stated, to have been of small account; after the enumeration of oxen, cows, and sheep, few in number, mention is made in the Inventory of *blada*, a word by which grain of all descriptions is commonly designated, both in regard to growing crops or corn in store. We here meet with a term of somewhat unusual occurrence, used in this document as a measure of oats—"crenoc avenne"—which may claim a few explanatory observations.

In Cowell's Interpreter we are informed that "Curnocke is four bushels or half a quarter of corn"—the authority cited being Fleta, lib. ii. cap. 12, namely, the chapter "De pondere et mensura." It is, however, singular that no mention of the word has been found in the printed copies; of which the earliest was published in 1644, and the second, accompanied by Selden's Dissertation, in 1647. It has been suggested, with considerable probability, that the word "curnocke" may have been an addition by a transcriber in the MS. copy of Fleta which was used by the early glossarist, and have been copied from the Interpreter by Blount and other compilers of dictionaries:

¹ Hengwrt MS., No. 96, now in Mr. Wynne's library at Peniarth. In the pedigree of Ievan ap Meredith there given it appears that Morgau ap Ievan, brother of John above mentioned, married Gwenllian, daughter of Griffith Derwas, whose brother Howel was murdered in 1400. A daughter of the said Griffith was wife of Richard Trygarn, great grandson of Ievan ap Kenric, whose

Inventory and Will are given above.

² Jamieson explains a Curn or Korn as signifying in N. Scottish, "a quantity of anything; a parcel or indefinite number;" for instance, a "curn of bread," a small piece; a "curn aita," a quantity of oats; "curnio," a small quantity, &c. Lyndsay in 1592 writes of "curnis of meill and luiffalls," namely handfuls, of malt.

The cranoc, curnocke, or curnook, seems to have been a measure of Irish origin.³ Ledwich, in the *Antiquities of Kilkenny*, p. 380, informs us that "the cranock or cronnog, in Irish, was a basket or hamper for holding corn, supposed to hold the produce of seventeen sheaves of corn, and to be equal to a British barrel."

Thus, likewise, in Ducange, edit. Henschel, we find "*crannoca, mensuræ genus apud Hibernos*," with references to documents printed by Rymer. It was used, however, in Wales and elsewhere; the term occurs repeatedly in the Record of Caernarvon, but no explanation is there given.

It has been repeatedly stated, on the alleged authority of Fleta above mentioned, that the curnocke contained four bushels or half a quarter; this, however, was by no means an invariable rule. In the Wardrobe Book, 28 Edw. I. (1299, 1300), edited by Mr. Topham for the Society of Antiquaries, we find, under *Victualia*, "59 crannok di' bras' avenue molite" received from ships arriving from Ireland; also "133 crannok di' bras' avenue" purchased from Irish merchants. "Summa crannok 193, que faciunt in quarter Anglie, quolibet crannok valente 2 quarter", 386 quarter." "

We are indebted to the kindness of the Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, to whose valuable researches into the History of Agriculture and Prices attention has previously been invited in this Journal,⁴ for the following particulars derived from a series of Irish *computi* relating to the possessions of Roger Bigod between 1280—90. On all his estates situate within the English pale the crannock was used instead of the quarter, and, except in the case of oats, it invariably contained eight bushels, each of four pecks. In the case of oats the crannock contained sixteen bushels, and this duplication of the quarter of oats, as Professor Rogers remarks, is not very rare; he has found it customary, in several English estates of which he has examined the accounts, from the middle of the thirteenth century.

The use of this ancient measure may be traced in Worcestershire and some adjacent parts of England. In the Register of the Priory of Worcester, shortly to be produced under the editorial care of the Ven. Archdeacon Hale, the term occurs repeatedly,—"*cron' siliginis, j. cron' orde, j. quarteria avenæ*," &c.⁵ In later times we find this ancient measure occasionally mentioned, although possibly disused. Skinner gives "*curnock, mensura quædam frumenti*; v. Clark of the Market, p. 12;" and Mr. Riley,

³ O'Reilly gives Crannog in his Irish Dictionary, interpreted "a basket or hamper;" the term is probably to be traced to the material of which the ancient measure was formed.

⁴ *Liber Garderobe*, p. 125. It should seem that this was exclusively Irish measure; throughout the account oats, barley, &c. occur, measured by the quarter and bushel—"per mensuram rasam." In Claus. 3 Hen. III., the Justiciary of Ireland is ordered to deliver annually to the King of the Isle of Man "*duo dolia vivi et sexies viginti crennoc bladi pro homagio suo*."

⁵ Arch. Journ., vol. xxi., p. 392.

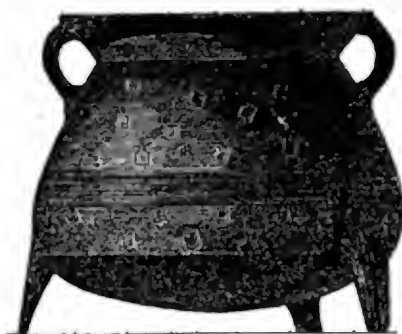
⁶ *Registr. Priorat. B. M. Wigorn.*, edited

for the Camden Society, p. 7; see also notes, p. xxxvii. The Archdeacon prints the word in *extenso*, "*cronnus*;" he notices that "*cronnokus*" occurs in the Gloucester Cartulary. At Worcester 23 crons of grain were distributed as "*St. Wolstau's alma*," consisting of five quarters of wheat, four quarters of rye, and four quarters of pease, the whole being ground and baked into loaves; the twelve quarters, making twenty-four crons, and each cronn fifty-two loaves. These loaves, 1248 in number, were distributed at the gate. *Registr. ut supra*, p. 106. This *Elemosina* is mentioned in Valer Ecol., vol. iii., p. 226.

to whose labors we are greatly indebted for information concerning the municipal institutions and the trade of the metropolis, has pointed out mention of the "cornook" in the Pathway to Knowledge, a translation from the Dutch, printed in 1596; it is there identified with the coomb of four bushels.⁷

The interest of all details associated with the obscure subject of mediæval weights and measures, of which we hope ere long to see the elucidation by Professor Rogers, must be our excuse for this digression on a term that seems to have been hitherto insufficiently noticed.

After the enumeration of Ievan's live stock and "*blada*," we find his small household appliances, "*parva utensilia domus*," of which the cooking vessels alone (*ollæ*) were considered deserving to be specified. There can be little doubt that these *ollæ*, four in number, pledged for the sums of 6s. 2d., 2s., 18d., and 14d. respectively, were tripod caldrons of mixed metal, such as have frequently been found on or near ancient sites of occupation, and have been regarded as Roman relics when they have occurred near Stations or places known to have been occupied in Roman times.⁸ A good example of the mediæval caldron found in North Wales was brought under our notice in 1863 by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., as related in this Journal, vol. xx. p. 169. It is here figured.¹



Caldron found in Denbighshire; height 10 inches, diameter 11½.

It may deserve notice in regard to these *ollæ* pledged by Ievan (*sub pignore*) to various persons, that, according to the merciful laws of Howel Dda, there were "three pledges which never lapse; a coultter, a cauldron, and a fuel axe."² The caldron, the trivet, and the flesh-fork were appli-

⁷ In Sir Jonas Moore's *System of Mathematics*, 1631, this term is doubtless to be traced under the form "*canock*" (*sic*). Dr. Young, as Mr. Riley informs me, mentions both *cran* and *crannock* in the second Report of the Commissioners on Weights and Measures; 1820.

⁸ See notices of tripod caldrons, *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 278, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xx, p. 169.

¹ This vessel, which holds about nine

quarts, was found in a turbarry at Bodidris, Denbighshire. It is now at Bodelwyddan, near St. Asaph, the seat of Sir Hugh Williams, Bart. Bodidris was a border fortress in early times, and doubtless one of the strongholds of the lordship of Denbigh, granted by Elizabeth to Robert Dudley. Considerable remains exist of the ancient mansion, the hall, and the exterior stables.

² *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 633.

ances of sufficient value and importance to claim consideration in legislative provisions. Thus in the valuation of buildings, furniture, &c., appended to the Venedotian Code, or Laws of North Wales, and there ascribed to Jorwerth, son of Madog; the worth of the king's boiler is set at six score pence, and its flesh-fork at twenty-four pence; his "bergin," possibly the trivet or brandrith, at six score pence; his caldron at three score pence, and its flesh-fork at twelve pence. The worth of the caldron, &c., of a magnate ("uchelwr") are set at the like amount.³

There were likewise tripod mediæval vessels of metal, in form not unlike the coffee-pot of our own times, and these may have sometimes been designated *ollæ*; an example was found in ploughing near Corwen in 1855, and it is now, we believe, in Mr. Wynne's possession. It is figured, with a short notice by him, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.⁴

In a former volume of this Journal attention was called by Mr. Wynne to a term peculiar to Welsh law, and of very frequent occurrence in documents, viz., *appridare*. It should seem that the word *pridare* or *appridare* is a latinised term from the Welsh word *prid*, ransom, and signifies to take on mortgage.⁵ See the documents given by Mr. Wynne in illustration of it; *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi., p. 394; compare Mr. Smirke's observations, vol. vii. p. 62. In the subjoined Inventory we find "*terras ad pridās*," viz., a tenement "*ad pridam*," i. e., redeemable, by Mered' ap David Gogh' at a certain sum, (the amount illegible); another tenement at 2*l*., and two tenements in the town of Meylltyrn at 8*l*. In the Will occurs the expression "*terras meas pridās*;" the last word should probably be read "*pridatas*," as, in a document in the possession of Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart., according to information for which we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. John Williams, of Beaumaris, is found the expression "*terras meas pridatas*," meaning, as suggested by him, "lands which I hold as mortgagee."

It may seem a little singular in the documents here given, that a man who had lands as mortgagee should have pledged for small sums such household articles as the *ollæ* above-mentioned; but in all probability Ievan may have had occasion for some small sums of money, and it was doubtless more convenient to raise them by pledging his *ollæ* than by calling in any of his mortgages.

In perusing the testamentary dispositions of Ievan ap Kenric Vaghan, his desire that his body should find sepulture in the Holy Isle of the Saints at Bardsey will not pass unnoticed. The high veneration with which Ynys Enlli, the Island of the Current, was regarded dates from a very early period in the annals of Christian Cambria. It is asserted that the aged prelate of South Wales, Dubritius, resigning his see at Caerleon to St. David, retired to Bardsey, and was there interred, A.D. 522; his

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 295, 297: compare the *Leges Walliæ*, lib. ii., c. 31, in which the *crater* is set at eight, the tripod at four "*denarii legales*," and another valuation, *ibid.*, c. 37, in which we find the following—"lebes regis libram valet, —fuscina lebetis xxliij. den. Caldarium regis dim. libre.—Caldarium optimatis lx. den.—Caldarium villani xxx. den." In each instance the value of the *fusci-*

nula is stated.

⁴ *Third series*, vol. iv., p. 416. A similar vessel found near the Roman Wall is figured in Dr. Bruce's work on the Mural Barrier, pl. xvi., Fig. 2.

⁵ *Pridiaw* in Welsh is explained in Owen Pugh's dictionary as signifying, to give a price, to lay a pawn or pledge, or to ransom.

remains were, however, removed in the twelfth century to Llandaff.⁶ Here also, according to Giraldus, was the tomb of St. Daniel, Bishop of Bangor, who died toward the later part of the sixth century. After the massacre at Bangor, about A.D. 607, many of the brethren of that convent, with other fugitives for the sake of their holy faith, found a refuge in the Island of the Saints. The example of the venerable Bishop of Caerleon, in retiring to close his life at Bardsey, was so extensively followed, as Mr. Rees has remarked in his *Lives of Welsh Saints*, that, according to the exaggerations of after ages, no less than twenty thousand saints were interred in the little island, the entire surface of which was occupied by their graves, and pilgrimages were frequently made thither for the sake of obtaining the intercession of the departed.⁷ Many persons, moreover, desired that their bones should rest in that hallowed ground; the voyage to Ynys Enlli was, however, attended with danger, and the bards have described its difficulties, not forgetting to celebrate the guardian influence to which the faithful owed protection amidst the waves. According to tradition, the transit from the shores of Merionethshire to the Isle of Saints was frequently made from the estuary at Barmouth. In the church of Llanaber, a short distance to the north of that place, an interesting relic existed, as we are informed by Mr. Wynne, until the "restoration" of the fabric about 1858: at the west end of the north aisle a space had been walled off, to serve, it is believed, as a mortuary depository in which the corpse in transit to Bardsey might be suitably placed on any occasion when stormy weather delayed the voyage across the perilous seas.⁸

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF IEVAN AP KENRIC VAGHAN, dated Tuesday before the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25), A.D. 1361, 36 Edw. III.; with his Will appended.

Inventarium Ievan ap Keñ Vaghan die Martis proxima anto festum annunciacionis Beate Marie, anno Domini millesimo ecc^{mo} sexagesimo primo, et anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum tricesimo vj^o. Primo, habet in bonis quinque boves, et sex vacas (*sic*), et tria averia,⁹ et v. vitulos,

⁶ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 192. Penant, *Tour in Wales*, vol. ii., p. 197, gives A.D. 612 as the date of the death of Dubritius.

⁷ See the document entitled, "The Pardons and Privileges of the Abbey of Eanly," printed in the account of Bardsey, by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, *Archæol. Camb.*, vol. ii., p. 64. In regard to the history and present condition we may refer to that interesting memoir, and to the authorities there cited, and also to further particulars relating to Bardsey given in the same *Journal*, vol. iii., p. 363; vol. iv., p. 134; vol. vi., *Third Series*, pp. 151, 188.

⁸ Mr. Wynne states that he was desirous to secure the preservation of "the dead-house," which might conveniently have been converted into a vestry. It was, however, destroyed, as was also a rude altar at the east end of the south

aisle; in which was found the bronze cross figured in this *Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 204, where a short account of the church has been given by Mr. Wynne. See also his letter, *Arch. Camb.*, *Third Series*, vol. iv., p. 314.

⁹ *Averia*, according to Spelman, Bishop Kennett, Cowell, and other glossarists, signified cattle generally, "equi, boves, jumenta, oves, cæteraque animalia quas agriculturæ inserviunt, aut in agricolæ bonis et facultatibus, seu, ut vocant, *Instauramento*, computantur." Ducango in v.: *Averii* seem to have been horses used in farm labor. We find also *avere lanutum*, namely sheep, and *porcinum*, swine. It would seem from the context, that in the Inventory above given, *averia* may signify heifers, sometimes written "haifers," Ang. Sax., *heafre*, *vaccula*. Cowell, indeed, has the following observation:—"I think the word *heifer* to have

et xlij. oves, et blada existencia (sic) in terris et [extra]¹ . . . crouce avene, et parva utensilia domus, et duos equos; videlicet, unam ollam cum David ap y Gwineu sub pignore, videlicet, vi. s. ij. d., et aliam ollam cum Edū ap Heil' Gam² sub pignore, videlicet, ij. s., et aliam ollam cum Athaf ap Keñ ap Mad'³ sub pignore xvij. d., et quartam ollam cum Gwladus V'gh' Edū⁴ sub pignore, videlicet, xlij. d.; et terras ad pridias, videlicet, unum tenementum ad pridiam a Mered ap David Goghe sub . . li., et [unum] tenementum Mad' Inon⁵ sub ij. li., et duo tenementa in villa Mellteri . . .⁶ sub octo l'is . . .⁷ et cetera.

In Dei nomine amen. Ego predictus Ievan compos mentis et debil . . corpus (sic) in extrema voluntate ordino ac condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. Lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti et Beate Marie . . . et omnibus Sanctis Dei, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in iasula sancta sanctorum Bardeses' si Deus disposuerit. Item lego in oblationem cum corpore meo . . . Item lego Vamaeth Velen⁸ xij. d. Item lego fil' Mab' Gwien⁹ xij. d. Item lego Bledyn filio meo omnia bona mea mobilia et in mobilia, et omnia utensilia mea predicta;¹ et alia utensilia varia non oportet numerari lego predicto Bledyn. Item lego omnes terras meas pridias predicto Bledino filio meo. Item lego blada existencia in terris et extra predicto Bledyn sicut melius sibi videbitur expedire,² et predictus Bledyn providere faciat pro Ith'³ filio meo qui de legitimo thoro procreato (sic).⁴ Et ego predictus Ievan obligatus in debitis, videlicet, Thome de Milleton iij. li. x. s., Jor' ap Mad' Loit⁵ de tribus redditibus domini . . . s. ij. d.,⁶ Mered' ap Ievan xij. d., Ievan ap Geñrys v. s.; et predictus Ievan ordino Bledyn ad faciendum omnia pro salute anime me (sic) sicut

been only a corruption of *aver*, and to have signified at first any beast, though now restrained to the younger kind." Interpreter, s. v. *Averia*.

¹ The number is obliterated.

² Probably Edneved, son of Heile Gam, son of Howel (f) the Crooked.

³ Athaf, son of Kenric, son of Madog.

⁴ Gwladys Vergh, or Verch, (daughter of,) Edneved.

⁵ Madog Inon, possibly for Eimon or Eignon, a common Welsh name.

⁶ Possibly Mellterin, or Melitern, the last letters of the word are illegible, the parchment being damaged. Mayllyrn is a parish near the testator's residence.

⁷ This word is obscure; it should probably be read in *extenso*, *libris*.

⁸ Mr. Wynne considers this to signify "the yellow nurse, or foster mother," possibly some old adherent of Ievan's family, and the first remembered in his bequests, even before his own sons. It has, however, been suggested by a friend well versed in the antiquities of North Wales, that Vamaeth (or Mammaeth) Velen may have relation to the chapel on "Maen Velen," the Yellow Cliff, opposite Bardsey, a place held in great veneration. Trygarn, the residence of Ievan, and Bardsey, are both in the Commot of

Maenmelyn, and the bequest may have been to the church, possibly to the mother church in the Commot. It may, indeed, have been necessary to specify the Vamaeth, for the locality abounded with chapels, and ruins of some of them remain at the present time.

⁹ It is uncertain whether *filio* or *filiz* is here intended. Mab Gwien, son of Gwien. It must, however, be observed that the last letter of Mab has a mark of contraction. The mixture of Latin with Welsh renders the early documents relating to the Principality very obscure.

¹ Namely, the *oliz* specified in the Inventory.

² This phrase seems misplaced here; possibly it was accidentally transposed in making the transcript. The reading of the original may have been—"predictus Bledyn providere faciat, sicut melius sibi videbitur expedire, pro Ith'" &c.

³ Probably Ithel.

⁴ The first hand may have written—*procreato* (*procreatus*—*est* being understood), which might obviously be changed into *procreato* in the transcript.

⁵ Jorwerth ap Madog Loit, or Lloyd.

⁶ This *redditus domini*, Mr. Wynne observes, may have been a rent to the crown,

sibi videbitur expedire. Hiis testibus et fidejussoribus ad predictum testamentum, Bledyn ap Eignon Game,⁷ Cad' Chiwith,⁸ Jor' ap Mad' Kefder,⁹ Bledyn ap Keñ, et multis aliis. Actum coram Johanne t'¹ de Barteges' die et anno supradictis. In cujus testimonium sigillum predicti [Ievan ?] est appositum.

Additional Note on the term "Prida."

Whilst the foregoing document and observations were in the printer's hands we became indebted anew to the courtesy of Mr. Williams, from whom we have received an instrument that may throw some further light upon the obscure terms *prida*, *appridare*, &c. It bears date February 24, 35 Henry VI. (A.D. 1457), and appears to be an indenture of covenant, collateral with a deed of pryde (or mortgage) that is recited in it, and was dated probably on the same day. The deed of pryde (or mortgage) was made by Res Salmone of Beaumaris of his burgage, without the west gate of Beaumaris, to William Bulkeley the elder, Esquire, the operative words being "prydty and sett to pryde," which seem equivalent to "mortgaged and set to mortgage." Set, in law language, is equivalent to grant; thus set to farm is to lease, and "set to pryde" must, as it would appear, be to mortgage. The transaction in question was certainly in effect a mortgage.

The word "pryde" had, however, evidently very different and even almost opposite meanings; for the money, amounting to 60s., paid by William Bulkeley to Res Salmone as the consideration for the deed of pryde, was paid "as in pryde of the said burgage." The grant of the burgage is to William Bulkeley, his heirs, and assigns from St. David's day, 35 Hen. VI., for four years, and so from four years to four years, a practice unknown to English lawyers.¹

Instead of interest a yearly rent is made payable by the mortgagor; and, if it be in arrear, it is to "run and be set with" (added to) the mortgage debt (the sum of 60s.) "in pryde yearly."

Though, according to the documents adduced by Mr. Wynne in explanation of the words *pridare* and *appridare*, in vol. vi. of this Journal, p. 394, they sometimes meant to take in mortgage; yet, in all probability, they are Latin forms of the word pryde, and show that it had sometimes this meaning. Indeed it should seem that all these words had a very vague

and probably Jorwerth was farmer under the crown. Almost every office was farmed out in the middle ages in Wales, such, for instance, as those of the sheriff, the raglot, the ringild, the woodwarden, &c.

⁷ Bledyn, son of Einion the Crooked, or the one-eyed; Camm, bowed, crooked. Richard's Dictionary.

⁸ Cadwallon, possibly, or Cadwalader, the Untoward. Chwith, sinister, awkward; Chwithig, left-handed, untoward.

⁹ Jorwerth ap Madog.

¹ The parchment has here suffered and a few letters before the final 't' have been

entirely obliterated. It is probable that the reading was *abbate*. It has been stated previously that there was an abbot of Bardsey, named John, about the time when the document given above is dated. Possibly the seal affixed may have been his.

¹ It may be observed, that, in the "Memoranda de terris pridatis per Gruffut ap Aron," communicated formerly by Mr. Wynne, the conveyance by the mortgagor is for successive terms of four years continually until redemption. Arch. Journ., vol. vi., p. 394.

sense, and signified either to grant in mortgage or to take in mortgage; and that the actual meaning in every case was to be determined by the context. If, as appears not improbable, the primary sense of the Welsh form of the word *pryde* as a verb, viz. *pridiaw*, was to give one thing for another, both the meanings above mentioned may be easily accounted for.

A. W. and W. S. W.

Archaeological Intelligence.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Institute for the year 1866 will be held in the Metropolis, commencing on July 17. It is with grateful satisfaction that the Central Committee desire to make known to the Members that Her Most Gracious Majesty THE QUEEN has signified Her Pleasure that the Meeting should be announced as held under Her sanction and Patronage. Her Majesty has also been graciously pleased to grant permission for a special visit to Windsor Castle. H. R. H. the PRINCE OF WALES, Patron of the Institute, has condescended to take the part of Honorary President of the London Meeting. Cordial promise of assistance and encouragement has been received from the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, and, by sanction of the Court of Common Council, the Inaugural Assembly will take place in the Guildhall.

Full particulars regarding the proposed arrangements may be obtained at the Office of the Institute, No. 1, Burlington Gardens.

The publication of a work of great value to all who devote attention to Palæography, and to the investigation of Historical evidence preserved in ancient records, claims the special notice of our readers. The success that attended the Photo-zincographic facsimiles of Domesday Book has suggested to Sir Henry James a reproduction, by the same process, of the most interesting of our royal charters, grants, letters of royal and remarkable persons, with various documents deposited at the Record Office, or in other repositories, including the most perfect copy of Magna Carta extant. The series has been selected, under direction of the Master of the Rolls, by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of H.M. Records; it will extend from the Conquest to the commencement of the last century. The facsimiles, arranged chronologically, will form four parts, atlas quarto; price of each part 25s. Translations and notes have been supplied by Mr. W. B. Sanders, Assistant Keeper of Records. This important work, entitled "National Manuscripts," may be obtained through Mr. Stanford, Charing Cross, or any bookseller.

It is with satisfaction also that we hail the announcement of a collection of facsimiles of "National Manuscripts" of Scotland, to be executed under the charge of Sir Henry James. The materials for the first portion have been selected by direction of the Right Hon. Sir William Gibson-Craig, Bart., Lord Clerk Register, by the talented Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, Edinburgh, who has likewise been permitted to have recourse to the rich stores in public and private collections in North Britain.

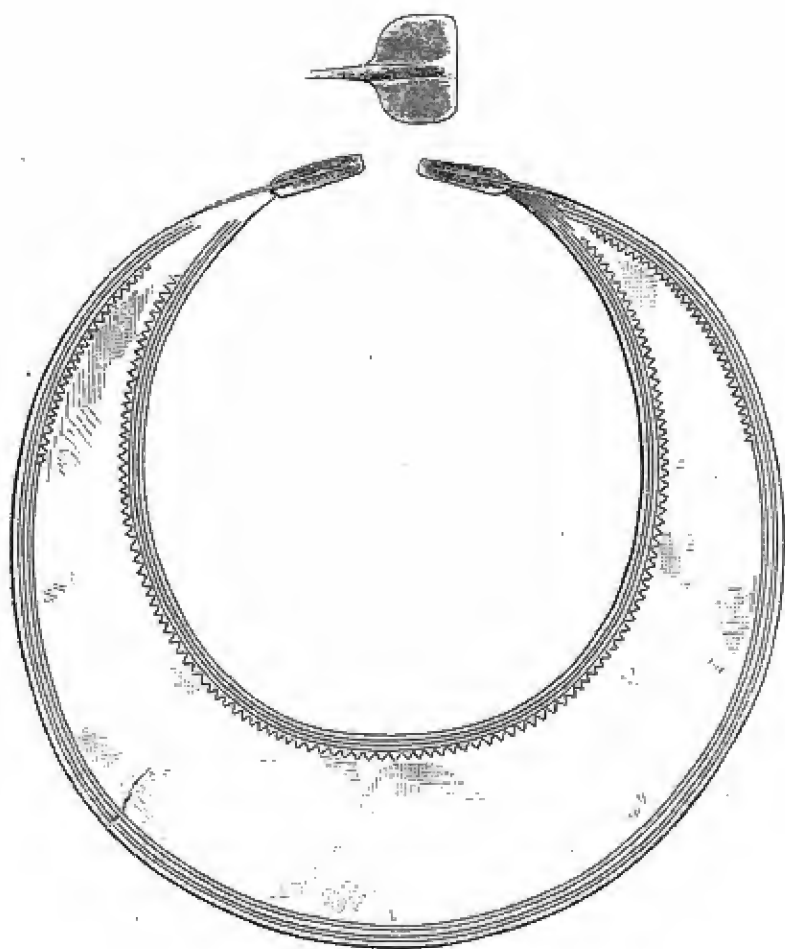
THE REV. WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., announces as in readiness for

publication (by subscription, 10s.), "A Decade of Skulls from Ancient Northumbria," to consist of ten lithographic plates, with an account of the circumstances under which each skull was found, and accompanied by woodcuts of urns and other associated objects. The crania have been selected from the instructive collection in possession of Mr. Greenwell, and will be principally those which are commonly designated British, including several very typical examples. If, however, the number of subscribers should be sufficient to warrant an additional outlay the number of plates will be increased. Those persons who may desire to encourage the undertaking should send their names to the author at Durham.

The value of crania in the difficult investigation of ancient races, and in many ethnological questions of importance to the archæologist, has been increasingly appreciated in recent times. Dr. Barnard Davis, to whom, conjointly with Dr. Thurnam, we are indebted for the remarkable contribution to antiquarian literature, the "*Crania Britannica*," has prepared an illustrated catalogue of his large collection, comprising nearly 1500 examples derived from every division of the globe, and presenting representative types of the skulls of various races, including those of the Indian Ocean and of the Pacific, highly valuable for purposes of comparison. The volume, to be entitled "*Thesaurus Craniorum*," will be issued at 10s. 6d. (to subscribers). A prospectus may be obtained from the author, J. Barnard Davis, M.D., F.S.A., Shelton, Hanley.

The interesting vestiges of an unknown race occupying the Lake-margins of Switzerland at a remote period have been brought before the Institute by General Lefroy and other members; Sir John Lubbock and some distinguished writers on Ethnology have likewise treated of the subject, but no special work on the Pfahlbauten has hitherto been published in England. We have to announce with gratification, that a fully detailed account of these remarkable remains has been prepared by Mr. John E. Lee, F.S.A., well known to us through his researches at Caerleon, and it will speedily be published by Messrs. Longman. This important addition to our Archæological literature will consist of the reproduction of the six valuable memoirs by Dr. Keller, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, and given in their Transactions. To his sagacity, as is well known, the discovery of the Lake Habitations in 1856 was due; subsequent investigations have been carefully placed on record by him, but the original German text has been comparatively unavailable to his friends amongst the antiquaries of this country. Mr. Lee has prepared a careful translation with the author's concurrence; the numerous illustrations that enriched the original memoirs have been reproduced, with some additions, forming the most complete and instructive work on the subject hitherto brought within reach of the student of Primæval Antiquities.

The Congress of the BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1866 will, it is understood, be held in October at Battle and Hastings, under the auspices of the Duke of Cleveland, K.G. The meeting has been arranged as a celebration of the eighth centenary from the Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14, 1066.



Golden Lunette found near Padstow.

Scale, half original size; weight 4 oz. 0 dwts.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1865.

NOTICE OF TWO GOLDEN ORNAMENTS FOUND NEAR PADSTOW,
AND COMMUNICATED TO THE INSTITUTE BY FAVOR OF
H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.

By EDWARD SMIRKE, Esq., M.A., Vice-Warden of the Stannaries.

THE objects to which the following observations relate were found on a farm at Harlyn, in the parish of Merryn, near Padstow, in the course of lowering the surface, or cutting away some ground, at the depth of about 6 ft. from the surface. With them were found two other articles; one of which, a bronze celt, has been preserved; another was thrown away before any particular notice had been taken of it: it was described by the man at work on the spot, as "like a bit of a buckle." The discovery was made in the course of last year.

The earth in immediate contact with these articles is described to have been of an artificial character, consisting of stones unlike the rest of the ground, so as to suggest to the finder, Mr. Helyar, the notion of a deposit designed for concealment. In fact, the case was clearly a case of treasure-trove, in which the law of England, in the absence of any other legal owner, assigns the ownership to the Crown. In the present case the Treasury disclaims title to the articles, and considers them as belonging to the Duke of Cornwall in right of those general franchises originally claimed by the Earls of Cornwall, and afterwards vested in the predecessors of his Royal Highness, Dukes of Cornwall, by the charters, royal and parliamentary, of Edward III. They were submitted to the meeting of the Institute in July 7 ult., by the favor of the Prince of Wales.

They are presumed to be personal ornaments of the kind which have been variously called "Lunettes," "Gorgetts," Diadems, &c., according to the conjectural uses to which archæologists have supposed them to have been originally applied.

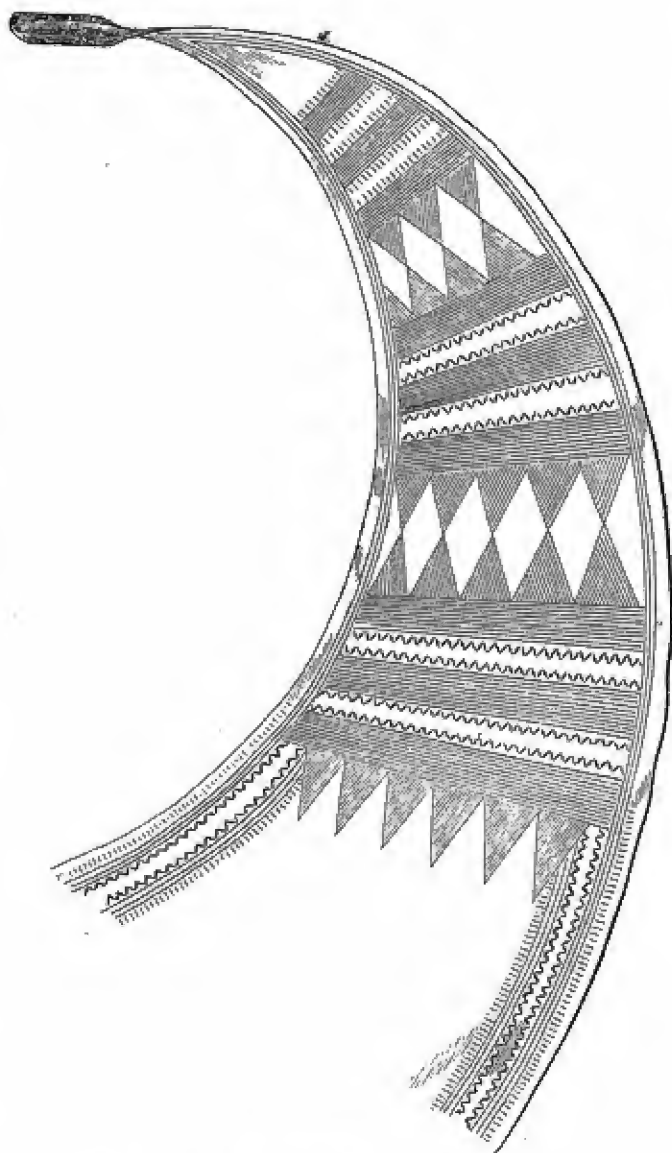
One of the like ornaments, of a character and form so nearly resembling the larger of the present lunettes as to be almost identical with it, is preserved in the British Museum, and is, doubtless, the one found near Penzance, formerly in the possession of the family of Price, of Treugwainton, and accurately figured in the *Magna Britannia* of Mr. Samuel Lysons. Another of a similar character and form is known to have been found in the parish of St. Juliot, in the Hundred of Lesnewth, in the same county; so that we now know of four distinct instances of the discovery of such articles, all in Cornwall, and all at no great distance from the north coast. At present no such discovery is known to have been made elsewhere in England, Wales, or Scotland. In Ireland these objects are more numerous; they may be said to be of almost familiar occurrence there. In the Royal Academy of Ireland alone there are fifteen, and in that island the name of "*mind*," or *diadem*, has been suggested as a proper designation of them. Hitherto ornaments of this kind have been considered to belong to the Keltic period of our insular occupation, whether in England or in Ireland, and are so classed by our antiquaries; whether they were of home manufacture, or were imported through the medium of early commerce, is at present an open question. Meantime it is to be borne in mind that evidence of the use of golden articles nearly resembling these, has been found in French Bretagne,¹ in 1832, (of which there is an engraving in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, pl. vii.); and also in Denmark, referred to in Worsaae's *Northern Antiquities*, and described as a *haarsmikke*, or *haarschmuck*, in the archæological publications of that country.

The weights of those before us are respectively, 4oz. 9dwts. and 2oz. 2dwts. They are of very pure gold. The surface ornament appears to have been formed both by punching and by graving.

The occurrence of the bronze celt (here figured) in connection with them, is, I think, an important fact, and is some evidence of the concurrent, or contemporaneous, use of both articles. It is a rare and (at present) a solitary instance; though I believe it was never doubtful that both metals were in early, simultaneous, use. This celt is of simple fashion,

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii., p. 14.





Portion of a Golden Lunette found near Padstow.
Original size.

and probably of a very early type. It measures $4\frac{2}{3}$ in. in length ; breadth of the cutting edge, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The name of *torc*, or *torque*, cannot be correctly applied to these gorgets, if gorgets they be. That extremely ancient article of personal decoration makes a very early figure, as well in historical writings as in Eastern sculpture. On this subject the instructive and exhaustive papers of Mr. Birch, in the 2nd and 3rd vols. of the *Archaeological Journal* of the Institute, supply ample information.² It is, however, observable that we have no delineation or description of early date that indicates the manner in which these golden, semi-lunar laminae were worn on the person. On this, as on the question of their original place of



Bronze Celt, found, with Golden Ornaments, near Padstow. (Two-thirds orig. size.)

actual manufacture, we have nothing that throws any clear light ; we can only resort to conjecture. Some of the same form as those before us have been found so small as to be unfit for ordinary use, either round the neck or the head. There are one or two of this kind in the British Museum.

It is difficult to refrain from connecting the occurrence of these Cornish specimens with the ancient intercourse, both friendly and hostile, religious and secular, between that county and Ireland. The old churches had many saints in common ; as Petrock, Piran, Senan, Hia (St. Ives), Columb, and even Patrick. More detailed references to this connection will be found in a paper read to the Royal Cornwall Institution, in 1861, upon the Ogham Stone found at Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood in Devonshire.

Since the above meeting, his Royal Highness has kindly been pleased to direct that the lunettes should be deposited in the Museum of the Royal Institution at Truro.

² There seems to be some error in the author's reference to the two Cornish ex-

amples, there supposed to be in the British Museum.

ANCIENT DORSET.¹

By WILLIAM BARNES, B.D.

At a gathering of the learned in the olden life of Britain and England, although a man may have but little to cast into the great store of their knowledge, yet his little may be so far of a kind that others have overlooked, that it may be as welcome as would be much more of the kind of which others are full. I can lay before you only such additions to the early history of Dorset as may be gathered from the writings and languages of the three races—Roman, Briton, and Saxon;—and I have taken up for my inquiry the time at which the Saxon-English and British were meeting in Wessex, and therefore in Dorset. It is the fashion to mistrust the early traditions of the British and English peoples. We are no longer, it seems, to have a King Arthur, and unless we hold fast King Alfred, I fear that even he may be wrested from us; but, whereas there is a tendency to take early writings to be all false till they can be proved true, I would hold them to be all true till they are shown to be false. I am ready to believe in every triad and triban, and can see by other lights that many of them must be trustworthy. We learn something of the Britons from the Romans, and if we would believe, as I think Dr. Guest believes, in the old British writings, we might win, as he has already won, a further insight into the British times of our land.

It may be worth while to observe that the Romans, in their Itineraries and other writings on Britain, took the names of places and men from British lips, and then moulded them into a Latin shape, so as to fit them to their language and their utterance. Caswellawn became, with the Romans, Cassibelaunus; Bran, Brennus; Byddic (whose name, like that of our beloved Queen, was Victoria), Boadicea; Gwent, Venta; Gwennydd, Venetia. Now, if we could learn into what Roman clippings the British ones were turned, we might, conversely, resolve the Roman names into British words,

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which would help us to settle some of the Stations of the Roman Itinera. From some tables that I have gathered, I find that the British Gw or W became mostly a Roman V, or sometimes a B. Then conversely, if I take, for instance, the name Durobernium, and turn the b into gw, I shall bring out Dwr gwern or Dwr wern, "the Swamp or Moor water." Thence, wherever might have been the station Durobernium, I think it was by some moor or swamp. So again if I take Durnovaria (the Roman name of Dorchester), and turn the v into w or gw, I have Dwrn or Dwrinwyr—the Dwrin people or district; Durn (Dwrin) being the British name of the head town or district of Dorset. The men of Dorset, or of its mother town, are called by Ptolemy, and also by some Latin writers, Durotriges, *i.e.*, waterside dwellers, from the British Dwr, water, and trigo, to dwell; not because their whole shire had a seaboard, but because the head-quarters of the tribe were on water. Dorset men of the whole county are no more waterside dwellers than are those of any sea-touching shire of Britain. Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, after speaking of the Regni and Belgæ, says: "Τούτων δ' ἀπὸ δυσμῶν καὶ μεσημβρίας Δουρότριγες, ἐν οἷς πόλις Δούριον" (after these, on the west and south, Durotriges, among whom is a town Dúnion). Camden cites the various reading Durnium,² but Richard of Cirencester says their capital was Durinum, and that he is right is betokened by forms of the word Durin with other writers, Roman, Briton, or Saxon. The Roman Station in Dorset, Dorchester, was called *Durnovaria*, which, by the rule of word-mutation already given, would be the British Dwrinwyr, the men of Dwrin, *i.e.*, the *castra* of the Dwrin men. Asser says that the district of Dorset was called in British Durn-gueis, in modern Welsh spelling Dwrin-gwys, *i.e.*, the Dwrin district, but in Saxon, Thornsætta, or as another Saxon writer gives it, Dornsætta, *i.e.*, the Dorn or Dwrin settlement, from which, by the outdropping of the n before s (as in Greek), we have Dor-sætta, Dorset; and in several Saxon charters, quoted for me by Mr. H. Moule, Dorchester is called—

(1) Dornwara ceaster, the Dwrin people camp, ceaster meaning the Roman *castra*, a proof that the Roman Durno-

² "Ptolemæo pro exemplarium varietate *Durnium* et *Duntum* falso nominari videtur."—*Cund. Brit., Dorsetshire*, p. 155; edit. 1607.

varia was the British Dwirinwyr, for the British gwyr, men, was of the same meaning as the Saxon wara in other names, as in Cantwara, the Kent people; Burhwara, the town-people; Wihtwara, the Isle of Wight people.

(2) It is called Dornmere ceaster, that is, the Dwirin-mere-castra, or the ceaster of the Dwirin-mere—lake or pool.

(3) Dorne ceaster.

(4) Dorca ceasteria.

(5) Dornwarana ceaster, the ceaster of the Dwirin people; warana being the genitive form of wara.

And, lastly, Dorset is called Dornsetan, and Dorsetan.

But what and where was Dwirn or Dwirin? Y Dwirn means, in British, the Little water; but the Durotriges were called also Morini, and y Môrin is "the Little Sea;" which little water or little sea is, I think, the Poole water reaching up to Wareham (which, I believe, was the capital of the Durotriges, and it was a place of note in the Saxon times), and might be the Dwirin from which Dorset took its name: while the Roman *castra* among the Dwirinwyr, or Dwirin people, was called Durnovaria, *i.e.*, the station of the Dwirinwyr.

I have observed that one of the names of Dorchester, in the Saxon-English charters, is *Dorn-mere-ceaster*, the ceaster of the *Dwirinmere*, lake or pool; and we know that the town of Poole takes its name from the pool, or from a pool; and, that such a piece of water might be called a little sea, we have a proof in *Mor-bikan*, which in Welsh spelling would be *Môr-bychan*, "the Little Sea," in Brittany.

There is yet in Dorchester a street, leading east to the old Wareham Road, called *Durnlane* or *Durngate Street*, and there is a farm at *Durnford*, near Langton Matravers, in Purbeck; there is also in that neighbourhood a fine length of old road-hollow; and Durnford may have taken its name from a road to Wareham, as a Durnford near Salisbury may be on a British road into Dorset. That states should take the names of their capitals is no wonder to those who think only of Athens or New York.

There are in the Church of St. Mary, at Wareham, some incised stones, which, I believe, will bear on the question of *Dwirin*, as I hold that they were stones of a British church. They have been preserved within the walls of old English buildings; and some of them are flat-faced, while others are

monumental stones of geometrical forms. They were found in the walls of the old nave at its demolition in 1841, and the flat-faced ones were built into the new walls, while the monumental stones were placed, where they now lie, in the chapel or crypt, called Edward's Chapel. The letters are those of the Welsh monumental or later Bardic alphabet, (not the *coelbren* letters of the Bardic rods,) or those of the Cadvan stone, such as are given in the ancient Welsh grammar of Edeyrn Davodaur, compiled in the thirteenth century, and printed by the Welsh MS. Society in 1856; and such as the *fac simile* of a MS. of a Bardic trian or triplet of the end of the eighth century, as given by Villemarqué in his "Bardes Bretons." A fragment of a monumental stone, which was about ten inches in diameter, bears the inscription ENNIEL F. . . . at which last letter the stone is broken off; it is as clear that *Enniel* is not an *English* name or word as it is that it has a British form, *anial*, wild, or *enwol*, namy, famous. The dressing of the monumental stones, although their forms are true, is rough; as if it were rather the work of a hammer than of a chisel and mallet. The old incised stones in Wareham church are—one under the tower near the south porch; one measuring 28 inches by 12, which seems to have been a door-jamb; one in the north aisle, 19 inches by 8; another, 44 inches by 12 inches, inverted in the wall of the north aisle; a monumental stone of four faces with carved triangles, 22 inches high and 10 inches in diameter; and another 2 feet high and 10 inches in diameter. Some writers, as Baxter and Stukeley, have taken the walls of Wareham to be a Roman work, and Wareham, therefore, to be a *castrum*. Now the Saxon-English settled in England so near the time of the withdrawing of the Roman legions, that they found their *castra* with many, if not with the most, of their marks of Roman life and handiwork, and, from Manchester down to Dorchester, have marked the Roman *castra* by the word *ceaster*, now *chester*; and yet, although they must have known Wareham as early as Dorchester, and took it as their Dorset haven, they did not call it a *ceaster*, but took it only as a 'Wareham' Mound-Inclosure. I do not know that the spade reaches, at Wareham, any tessellated pavement, or turns up such Roman remains as betoken a long holden abode; nor are the walls quite up to the Roman plan in straightness or squareness of form. Without doubt the

Romans knew Wareham, and it would be interesting to find how they reached their station at Dorchester; whether they landed at Wareham (then a Dorset port), or whether they marched down from Kent or London by the xvith Iter. A British trackway, as it is believed to be, leads out of the west gate of Wareham, and that gate, like the east gateway, is still called a port—West port,—East port. Oh! the Latin scholar will say, *port* is the Roman *porta*. No, I would answer, *Porta* and *Porth* are not mother and daughter words, but sisters. The British *porth* is a passage, a ferry, gate (*porta*), and port (haven). In the Welsh version of St. Matt. vii. 13, we read—"ehang yw'r porth, a llydan yw'r ffordd"—"Wide is the gate, and broad is the way." It is true that the word port was not unknown to the Saxon-English, but in Matt. vii. 13, it is our Dorset word *geāt*.

If we eliminate the Roman claim for the earthworks (walls) of Wareham, must we allow a Saxon-English one? I think not. Against whom should the Saxons have formed them? Against the Britons or the Danes? I know of no grounds for a belief that the Saxons made earth-mounded strongholds against the Britons. What, if they did cast up such earthworks, did they call them? The most likely word would be *burh* or *burh-faestan*; but I cannot recall any account, in Saxon-English law or history, of the forming of a war *burh*.

That the Saxon-English cast up the walls of Wareham against the Danes is unlikely, to my mind, as the Saxon Chronicle tells us that Bertric, who died before the inroads of the Danes, was buried at *Wareham*, then so called; a proof,—since Wareham means the Mound-Inclosure or Defence—that it was then surrounded by its walls. The stem form, *h*mn*, as in *ham*, means something of inclosing or surrounding, either lineally or superficially. A *ham*, as the name of a field, is an early inclosure, as distinct from open lands, and a man's *home* was his inclosure; *ham* and *hamel* (a secondary form), are applied to British earthworks, at *Hamdon Hill*, in Somerset, and *Hameldon Hill* in Dorset. *Hamōles*, in old English, is an inclosed haven, and *hemmel*, in south English, is a fold or a hovel; as *himmel*, the sky, in German, is the Great Inclosure. A *hem* is an inclosure, or rim of cloth; and a hamper is an inclosed basket. I hold, therefore, that Wareham has been mound-girt as long as it has been called Wareham.

: Some words of Asser have been read so far otherwise than as I understand them, as to seem to have shown that Wareham was unvalled in A.D. 876, when, as he says, the Danes came into a castle called Wareham; as if the castle (*castellum*) were a stone castle in Wareham; whereas he says that the castle was Wareham; so that we understand him to speak of Wareham as a *castellum*, the diminutive of *castrum*, with the old meaning of an earthwork.

The early history of English Dorset is bound in with that of the settlements of Wessex under Cerdic and Cynric, in the year 495. The first settlers landed in Hampshire, and, within about six years, in 501, others seem to have taken a footing at Portsmouth (Portesmutha), where, according to the Saxon Chronicle, was slain a young British man of high nobility. I hold, with Villemarqué, that we have another account of the battle of Portsmouth and of the death of the young Briton, in a poem of Llywarch Hên, the British bard, on the death of Geraint the son of Erbin—" (Marwnad Geraint ab Erbin)"—a prince of Devon or Cornwall (Dyvnaint), and therefore a young British man of high nobility. The battle was fought at *Llongborth*, *Llongporth*, and, as Villemarqué observes, *Llongporth* means in all the Celtic speech-forms (Portesmutha), the mouth of the haven; *Llong*, an opening, a passage, gullet, throat, and *porth*, a port or inlet, or ferry-water. The belief that *Llongborth* was Langport in Somerset seems to be ill grounded, since the Wessex settlements began in Hampshire, and spread slowly to the west; so that to think that the English were fighting in Somerset, when they first landed, is much like holding that, when the early English settlements were made in New England, the emigrants fought with the Indians far down in the west of North America. The youth of Geraint seems to be shown by the bard in one of the verses of the poem, in which he is called the great son of his father; "Mawr mab ei dad," as if his father were still alive.

In 519, "Cerdic and Cynric West Seaxena rice onfengon" formed the settlement into a state, as we have done in Australia and at the Cape in Africa, and took Wight the Island; Ynys Gwith? the Channel Island? 552. Cynric was making his westward way in a battle at Salisbury. 577. Ceawlin took from the Britons Bath, with Gloucester and Cirencester. In 643. Winchester was in English hands, as a

church was built there by Cenwalh. In 652 and in 654 he was taking a footing at Bradford on the Avon, and in 658 he fought with the British at Pen (Pendomer, near Crewkerne), and drove them to *Pedridan* or the Parret; "Cenwalh gefeāt aet Peōnnum with wēallas, and hy geflymde oth Pedridan." 688. Ine (Ina), king of Wessex, built a church at Glastonbury, as his sister Cuthburh founded a minster at Wimborne: so that the Dwrinwyr (Durnovaria) had, ere his time, come fully into English hands. It seems that the upper Axe (Esk) and the Parret were for a long time the understood boundary between the Saxon-English settlers and the British, and I think it might then have taken the name of the Parret or *Pedred-an*, for *Parwyd* (Cornoak, *Paruel*) means in British a partition or boundary, as does also *Pared*, a wall; but whence came the *d* in *Pedred*? It is markworthy that in Cornoak British; or Celtic Cornish, a *d* is found before a liquid of a Welsh word; as *pedn* for *pen*, a head; and, if the Cornoak was the British of Somerset, then *Pared* or *Parwyd*, or *Parwet* would become *Padred* or *Padrewyd*, or *Padret* (as Banbury would become *Bādanbyrig*), now *Badbury* in Dorset. I think the Parret might, at one time, have been called the Tōn, 'yr Avon Tōn,' 'The wave-river,' which is now the name of a branch of it at Taunton (Tōntūn), from the bore or tide-wave that, at times, flows up it. The West Saxon settlements spread slowly down through Hants, Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset, and might have reached the Axe and Parret about the time of Ceawlin, in 577.

I have smiled at the historical truth of the nursery rhyme—

"I went to Taffy's house, and Taffy wasn't at home.
Taffy came to my house and stole a marrow bone."

Since, whether the frontier of the English and Welsh were the Parret, Offa's dyke, or the Severn, it might happen that a raid would be made by the Saxon-English into British ground, while the British would steal over the border elsewhere, and take off not one marrow-bone, but all the marrow bones of all such cattle as they could sweep away.

I hold that the Saxon-English and British people were much mingled in Dorset, and that ethnologists are right in their opinion that we Dorset men have much Celtic blood. In the first place the presence of Britons among the English

in Wessex is shown by the laws of Ina, King of Wessex, who took his kingdom in A.D. 688. One of his laws is "Wealh gafogylda hund twelftig scill. His sunu hund; ned theowne sextig scill; somhwylcne mid fitegum. Weales hyde mid twelfum. Wealh gif he hafth fif hyda he bith syx hynde," *i.e.*, "A Welshman, a Scotpayer, is rated for his were at 120 shillings; his son 100; a servant 60 shillings, sometimes at 50; a Welshman's skin at 12. A Welshman, if he hath five hides, he is a six-hundred man." Now it must not be holden that the law means, by Weālas, Welshmen, Cymru of Wales; as Weālas means men of another kindred, and the Britons of Lloegr, or England Proper, are called Weāllas in the Saxon Chronicle. "Ceolwulf feāht with Weāllhas" (Britons), it says. "Cenwalh gefeāht with Weāllhas." "Cuthred gewon (strove) with Weāllhas," &c. Here the British Scotpayer stood with an unfree as 120 to 60, or twice as high; and if a law was made, as a law was made, for a British landowner, we must believe that there were British landholders in Wessex in the time of Ina. It may be thought that the law was looking to a Briton who might be a landowner farther westward, under British law; an opinion that would seem ill-grounded, since, under Welsh law, land was not holden by hides, and by five hides, though the hide was a well-known holding under English law. Again, another law shows the presence of Britons, as of the lower landholding class, and of landless, but seemingly free, Britons. "If a Welshman has a hide of land his were is 120 shillings; if he has half, 80 shillings; if he has none, 60 shillings." In another case the Briton and Englishman were treated much alike. "If an Englishman steal he goes forth to acquittal by twofold, *i.e.*, 120 hides of land. If he be British he is not compelled to more." Another law was that if a British Theow should kill a free Englishman, his master should give him up to the lord, or the dead man's kindred could set him free, or buy him off, with 60 shillings. We can see then, by the laws of King Ina, that about 180 years after the beginning of the settlement of Wessex, Britons of sundry ranks were living among the English of West Saxony, and therefore in Dorset. Most likely English and British were in many places living side by side as neighbours, with many wedded pairs of the two races, and with English and British children mingled in their play. It may be said, but

were not the English and British deadly foes? to which I would answer, the foeship of English settlers and Britons was most likely much as has been that of Englishmen and Maories in New Zealand. They were friendly in the times between one land-quarrel and another. I believe that the old Britons thought, as thought a Welshman, who once said to me, "The Saxon is an encroaching fellow;" on the other side the Saxon might deem, with the writer of the life of Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland, that the English were greatly wronged if the Weallhas fought to keep their footing against them.

The mingling of English and British households, in Wessex, shows us how we have brought down to our time so many British names of little outstep, and never widely-known places; and, conversely, such names would show that the two races were for a long time so mingled that the Englishman could take the name of a stream, a dell, or a knap, from British lips, as he could not have learnt it where not one of the old British dwellers of his neighbourhood had remained. A friend of mine once said to me, near Wool, "Do you know the name of that knap?" No. "It is Young Creech." We could see that it was a small hill, but we did not think it much younger than the bigger ones, and why was it called Young or Creech? Now, a creeg, Welsh; creek, old British; is a knap, hillock, or great mound. The g and d of modern Welsh were k and t in the older British, and, what is more to our purpose, in the Cornoak, or old British of the West of England.

Welsh—	caradoc.....	Old Brit.—	caratoc.
"	crug (creeg).	Cornoak —	cruk (creek).
"	blaidd (wolf)	"	bleit.
"	coed.....	"	coit.....Old. Brit.—coit.
"	lygad.....	"	lagat.

K, in late English, is tch; thence, in British law, the Sessions-mound or Court-mound was "y crug y gorsedd," from *sedd*, a seat or sitting, and *gor*, high; and I believe the West English places with the name of Creech can show a creek, a hillock, or big mound; as Creech Knowle (a double name, for a knowl is a creech), Creech St. Michael (which means St. Michael's Mount); Evercreech; Critchhill; but *eang* is big, and *Eang Creech* (Young Creech) is the big hillock or mound.

I might here, in speaking of the British people, caution

antiquaries against the too hasty conclusion that bits of charcoal found thinly scattered in the up-dug soil must be traces of body-cremation; as among the British, as early, at least, as the sixth century, a fire was kindled in March to clear the ground of scrub and other such growth. It was called *Tan Goddaith*, the Scrub fire, or *Tan mawr*, the Great fire. By the laws of Hoel Dda a fine was set for the kindling of the scrub-fire at any other time than between the middle of March and the middle of April; and that the scrub-fire was in use in the sixth century is shown by a line of a poem of Llywarch Hên, who says that the onset of the men was like the scrub-fire on the hill, "*Rhuthr goddaith ar ddefaith vynydd.*"

Liscombe, by Milton Abbas, may be *Llus'cwm*, Bilberry-hollow. At Mapperton, near Beaminster, is a deep pitlike hollow, or dell, called the Mithe, and a meethe, *midd* in British, is an enclosed place or pit. The British name of Shaftesbury is said to have been Mount Palladore, *Caer Paladr*, or *Peledr*. *Paladr* is a shaft, stake, or stem; and most likely, as it was a stronghold by the well-timbered Vale of Blackmore, it was a stockade; *Caer Paladr*, the stake or stockade fastness, which the English seem to have translated in *Sceafesbyrig*, Shaftesbury. I know it may be said that place names are very unsafe ground, as they are mostly taken by wild casts of thought; but the truth is that they are more or less trustworthy, as they are taken upon wider or narrower grounds of speechlore. He that handles them with a knowledge of only either British or Saxon-English, without the other speech of the two, is open to great mistakes; and the Latin and Greek scholar, without Teutonic learning, is still more likely to go wrong. Many places bear deceptive names, that have meanings, as taken both as Saxon-English and British; and one of them may be chosen before the other, on the known truths of the place, and a plain understanding of its fittingness; thus Radipol may be the English—Reedy Pool, or the British—*Rhedig-Pol*, the Flowing Pool. Another good caution for a wide ground of truth is, that, if the name of a place bears a meaning which befits it, it should befit other places of the same name. If a Saxon-English scholar should know only one Hinton, Hinton St. Mary, on high ground, he might cry, oh! Hinton is *Heäntûn* (High-tân), but it would behove him to see how far this name would suit Hinton Martel, Hinton Amper (Hants), Hinton Parva (Wilts), and Hinton St. George (Somerset). If they are not *Heäntûnes* we must

give up Heāntūn as the name of either of them. Again, we may sometimes get some light on the history of places from a referential name, as Newton, Newtūn, which implies an old tūn (eāldtūn). Sturminster is the old tūn to Newton, at Sturminster Newton; but where is the eāldtūn to Buckland Newton? I think it is Eal'tūn, *Alton* Pancras, the next parish.

Gorwell is a deceptive name, as it may be the Saxon-English *Gor-well*, the muddy spring-head, or the British *Gor-well*, the high view.

I hold that *Ford*, in many names of places in Dorset, is a British and not an English word (Cornoak, fford), and that it means, as it does in Welsh, a road, though we have rather confined it to a road through a stream. I do not think, however, that it could ever have meant water or a stream. In Welsh we hear—"A ydyw y ffordd yn ddá?"—Is the road good? and we have in Dorset very many places marked by the word *ford*—Sherford, Canford, Organford, Sandford, Milford, Longford, Thornford, Redford, Bradford, Heniford, Harford, Poford, Fittleford, Ockford, Enford, Hanford, Blandford, Winford, Muckleford, Bradford, Wrackleford, Stafford, Stinsford, Woodsford, Pipsford (Corscombe), Filford, Watford (Netherbury), Stokeford, Durnford. Now this word *ford* was not on our forefathers' lips till they came to Britain; I cannot find it in any Holstein or Friesic writings or word-books, nor in the names of places in the old land of the Saxon-English; and therefore hold that it is the British *fordd* or *ford*, a way, and that a British road went over our streams at every so-called *ford*; and with this faith we may make some more discoveries of British abodes and intercourse. Many of our deep-sunk old roads, pack-saddle ways and lanes, were, I think, the British roads, though, at the making of the turnpikes, some of them, wholly, or in lengths, were abandoned for so-thought better lines. These roads were made by and not for travelling, and on some slopes of rather soft soil were worn and washed out into hollows of a depth that bespeaks ages upon ages of use. Interesting portions of such road may be seen at Burton, half-a-mile from Dorchester, on the west side of the Sherborne turnpike, also by the west end of Poundbury and the paddock next to it. A piece appears at Came Rectory, and may be traced through the corner of Came Park to Cook's Hollow, in Whitcombe, and so to Littlemayne. There is a

remarkable road-hollow coming westward out of Wareham, and another near Langton, in Purbeck. I know of one that is yet a halter-road, hedged in, near Sturminster Newton, and if the hedges were cleared away it would show itself as a deep hollow, but I do not feel that it has been worn an inch deeper in my time.

Some of the ford-names seem to be wholly British, as Canford, the White-road; and I am not sure that *Organ-ford* is not *Organ-ffordd*, the White-sided road, as *can* becomes *gan* in composition, and so *orcan* becomes *organ*. Blandford, Blaenford, the front of the ford. Dibberford is plain British, for a saddle-road, or pack-saddle-road; Dibber being Welsh and Cornoak for a saddle.

Some part, if not the whole, of the still well-timbered and formerly fully-wooded vale of Blackmore was called, by the Saxon-English, Selwood or Silwood, Selwudu, which means the continuous on-reaching, or, as Asser says, the great wood, in British *coed-mawr*, or, as he writes it, *coit-mawr*, as Silchester, Selceaster, may mean the great ceaster; and Ethelwerd says that the bishopric of Sherborne was the province which was then called Selwoodshire.

The element *sel* or *sil* is found possibly in the Dorset name of the *houseleek*, which is silgreen—continuously green.

The only name-traces of *Selwood* are now, Frome Selwood, on the west, and Pen Zellwood on the north.

The element *borne*, *bourne*, or *burn*, of many Dorset place-names, means primarily a water-spring, or spring-head; and then a brook rising from a spring-head. A collection of poems by Groth, the Holstein poet, is called the "Quickborn," that is, the Fresh spring. Among our *bornes* are, Winterbourne, Wimbourne; Cranborne, the Cranebrook; Chiselbourne, the Pebble, or Gravel brook; Osborne, &c.

Erne, which is an element in Dorset names, means a place or abode. In Alfred's Laws of Sanctuary, it is said, that if the people want their church, to which a man may have fled, they shall keep him in another place, "on othram aerne." Our *aernes* are Arne, Ewerne, Mintern, and Pimpern; in Wilts is Potterne, and in Somerset, Crewkerne.

Knowl, *knoll*, is another element of some of our place-names, and means a knob-like, or head-like, hill, as in Knowle, Chetnole, Hincknowle, Pancknowle, etc.

Wyke, *wick*, is a bend or bight, as in a shore, or river, or

among hills. We have several wykes and some wicks, as Swanwick, Shapwick, Butterwick, Witchhampton.

Comb, in place-names, is the British *cwm*, a hollow, and a word not brought by the English from Holstein and Sleswick, where they had few hollows, and I think no places marked by the name *comb*; some of our comb-names seem to be wholly British, as Liscomb (Milton Abbas); Lluscwm, Bilberry-hollow; Melcombe (Moelcwm), Barehill-bottom; Corscombe, Bog-hollow or Moor-hollow; Chilcombe (Cilecwm)—corner or recess bottom.

Mel, as an element of names in Dorset, is, I believe, the British *moel*, Cornoak moal, and means a bald or bare hill—a hill that was bald or bare in British times, though now it may be wooded by a plantation. Some instances of it are Melbury, near Shaftesbury, Melbury Bubb, and Bubb Down is most likely the *mel*, for *bubb* in English is a round bunch—as in the words *éar-bob*, *bubbies*, *bubble*. Melcombe Bingham, where, though the Binghames are of long standing, *Moelcwm* is older than the Binghames. Fontmell is a village under Melbury, and is most likely the Cornoak an Funt, or Funten an *mel*, in Welsh *y ffynnon y moel*—the spring or brook of the *Mel*, or bare hill; and Arishmel is a spot by a *moel*, and very small stream. It may be the Cornoak an moal ar esk; in Welsh, *y moel ar wysg*, ar ish *mel*.

Dorset shows many of the British earthworks, *caerau*, or burys, as we have called them. Hutchins supposes some British *caerau* to have been Roman *castra*, though the Roman camp is pretty clearly off-marked from the British by a difference of form. The Roman *castra*, as is shown by Polybius on Roman castrametation, and by known Roman camps, were of straight lines and angles; whereas the British *caer* mostly followed the line of the hill-brow; and there is a British element in some of our names of earthworks: as Banbury (Blackmore), *Bau*, high, a prominence; Cadbury, from *cadw*, to keep, and *cad*, a battle. We need not believe that the dykes of Britain were cast up only as ramparts against the inroads of foes of another kindred. A law of Hoel Dda shows that Offa's dyke was taken as an understood boundary of jurisdiction for the sake of peace. It ordains that if out-comers of another kindred shall have gone from their lords before they shall have become owners, they shall leave half of their goods. If they shall have been born on the island, as

Englishmen, they shall not stay within Offa's dyke; *i.e.*, shall go back under English law. If they should have been born over sea, they were not to stay after they had met with a ship and a fair wind for their own land, and not to go into England to breed quarrels between the two governments.

Cor is an element of some place-names in the west, and I take it for the British *côr*, a circle, or ring. A *côr*, or ring, as an earthwork, differs from a *caer* or bury, both as it was a ring, and as it was for gatherings in peace; whereas the *caer* or *cader*, from *cadw*, to keep or hold, to fight, is a stronghold. There is a Corton near Hinton Martel, and I think, with a circle or *côr*; Corton Denham, near Pointington, has a *côr*; Corhampton, Hants; Corton, Wilts; Corton, Suffolk, may be so called from British rings. The *côr*, ring, answers to the "round" in Cornwall, where, in the time of the Cornoak speech, were performed the "*chware merel*," or holy plays, of some of which we have still copies. On Hamdon Hill, in Somerset, there is a small *côr* within the *caer*; it is called the Frying-pan, from its shape.

I hardly know the difference as to use between the *côr* and the camp, also a British ring. The camp (*circle*), game, or *campfa*, might have been for such gatherings as manly games (*gwrolgampau*), and the *côr* for law meetings, or courts, or bardic teachings; though the sitting-place of the bard was mostly called the *Gwyddva*, place of appearance, and his mound or bench the *crug y gorsedd*.

We have in Dorset, as have other counties, streams with British names. We do not own an Avon, which means a river, but we have a Way (*Wi*, *Gwy*, water), and on it Upway, and Weymouth; the Lyddan, Llydan, broad; the Alaun, Allen, Alaw? waterlily? Cawndle, Cawndell, means just what it is, a reed-grass or sedge channel. We have some hill-names, which are British words for sundry kinds of hill forms—Creech, Crug, Cruk; Bryn, Bran, a height;—Pen, a head or head-like hill, as Pen Zellwood, Somerset, Pen Domer, Pen, Yeovil; Ponc, a hillock, tump, cone, as Puncknowle, which is a double name, British and English, as the Ponc is the knoll; Tout, Toot, I think is a peak, as in Nettlecombe Tout, Cleve Toot, Somerset.

Saxon-English names.—Bere is the name of several places in Dorset, and a Bere is a bunching up or bedding up together, as in the meaning of our word bed, a bed or bunch of something to lie on, whence bier; or a bere or bed of withies, brambles, or underwood, and thence Beer Hacket, Bere Regis, Tod-ber(e), or Fox-copse, and Bag-ber(e). Stoke, or Stock, I think means a rising or up-sloping of the ground, and my purpose in giving this opinion is that others may either confirm or refute it from their own knowledge of places with that name. It is true of Stoke-Wake in Dorset, Stoke-under-Hamdon in Somerset, and East-Stoke, between Dorchester and Wareham. Is it also true of Stoke Abbas, Stock-Gaylard, Burstock (Beaminster), Burton Bradstock, Cattistock, or Chardstock? Chesel, ceosel, Saxon-English; German, kiesel, is a flint or pebble, whence Chesilborne, Chesil Beach, and also a carpenter's chisel, a name brought down possibly from the stone-age of our Teutonic tribe, when a chisel was a chesil. Flint, from fleän, the old English for an arrow, is the arrow-stone.

I think it may be worth while to state a fact or two of the very common ending of place-names in Wessex, ton, tûn. A tûn was an inclosure, or inclosed farmstead of the early English landholder, and now to *tine* ground means, in Dorset, to fence it. Where an *s* comes before the tûn or ton it affords fair ground for taking the former part of the name as that of an old landholder; as Herringston, the farmstead of the Herings. Some of our Dorset names show something of the settlements of the Saxon-English kindreds, since they afford names that are known or credible as Saxon-English, or such as are still known in Friesland, and given as Friesic names in Oatzen's Friesic Glossary, such as the following—

Tribe.		Stock.		Name.	Place.
		Saxon.	Frieslan.		
The Allings	of the house of	Ælla	—	—	in Allington.
" Bofogs	"	Beof, or Bufo	—	—	" Bovington.
" Ceadings	"	Cead, or Chad.	—	—	" Cheddington.
" Gealings	"	Geal.	—	—	" Gillingham.
" Lillings	"	Lille.	Lulle.	—	" Lillington.
" Mannings	"	Maana.	Manno.	—	" Mannington.
" Nottings	"	Cnotta (f)	—	—	" Nottingham.
" Osmings	}	Osmund.	—	—	" Osmington.
" Osmundings					
" Peallings	—	—	Falle.	—	" Pallington.
" Rollings	—	—	Rollo.	—	" Rollington.
" Sceallings	—	Sceal	—	—	" Shillingston.

The *Fordings* of *Fordington* were, I think, so called as the people of the ford.

We have other traces of Saxon-English landowners; such as—

Saxon Name.	Friesian Name.	Place.
Earm.	—	In Armswell.
Bardolf.	—	" Bardolfeton.
Æpelhelme.	—	" Athelhelmston, or Athelhamston.
Bloca.	—	" Bloxworth.
Ceam.	—	" Comesworth.
Eadmund.	—	" Edmondsham.
Góðman.	—	" Godmanston.
—	Grim.	" Grimston.
—	Hemme.	" Hemsworth.
—	Hare.	" Herston.
—	Kay, or Key.	" Keysworth.
Manna.	Manno.	" Maunston.
Peal, or Palla.	Palle.	" Pelsham.
Poca, or Poca.	—	" Porwell.
Porta.	—	" Portisham.
Ramp, or Remp.	—	" Rampisham.
Rean.	Ranne.	" Ranston.

Worth, or Weorth, is a place-name which has been said to mean land, farm, abode, way. Tacitus says that a tribe of Frieses, the Cauci, Kauki, living in the low lands, dwelt on high patches of ground, tumuli, the Friesic name of which is, I believe, *kauchen*, though in the wordstore to the poems of Groth, the Holstein poet, Worth is given as the name, in Ditmarsh, of the upcast hillock on which the houses or villages have been built; whence the names of Holstein villages—Ammersworth, Busenworth, Treunenworth, Darenworth; and it would be worth while to enquire whether the high ground has given names to our places—Bloxworth, Lulworth, Bingham's Worth, Turnworth, Comesworth near Beaminster, Emsworth, and Hamworthy. *Huish* is a name of many places in Dorset and other counties of Wessex. *Huish* *Hiwisce* means a household—abode of a household. In a poem in the old continental Saxon we read of Jacob going into Egypt:—

" *Thô giwêt im oc mid is hiwisca.*"

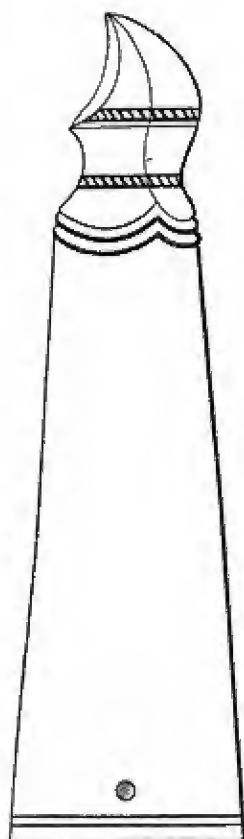
Then went he with his household.

I do not think that Portland is so called as the haven-land, or land with a port of our meaning. The port of Portland is, I believe (*y* Porth), with the meaning of ferry, the ferry-

land—(Tir y porth). But who are the Portlanders? Were they English or Northmen who settled on the island before the English settlements had as yet fully spread down through Dorset? They call a child of a Portland woman mated to a mainlander, and I believe a mainlander also, a *Kimberling*, and have been unwilling to give their daughters to the Dorset foreigners: a token of a difference of race. But what means Kimberling? *Ling* is an offspring or descendant, and *kimber* may be *Cymru*, British.

The old customs of the Portlanders should be up-gathered and recorded. They have had the usage of gavel-kind, but we hardly know whether it is of British or English origin. The Portlanders in a corps of riflemen differ clearly from others of Dorset, when all of them are seen together.

TILTING LANCES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



Tilting Lance-head of steel, in the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich.

Length of the original, 64 inches.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL WEAPONS
AND WARLIKE APPLIANCES IN EUROPE.

By JOHN HEWITT.

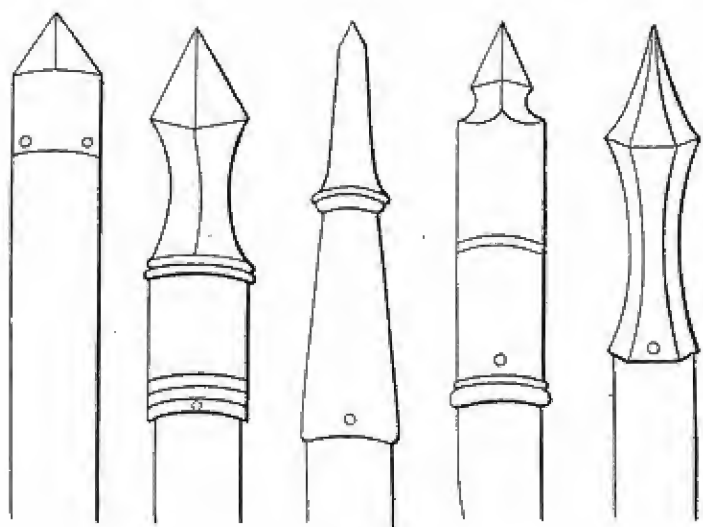
TILTING LANCES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE tilting-lance-head here figured is from an original example preserved in the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich. It is of a kind seen in the "Triumph" of the Emperor Maximilian, and, no doubt, of the early part of the sixteenth century. Among the representations given in the curious work above mentioned are several kinds of tilting spears; those of the form here presented being appropriated to the "Course appellée Bund" and the "Course au bourrelet." They are most distinctly made out in the fine large woodcuts of Hans Burgkmaier. The champion armed for the Bund has a frame fixed in front of his *salade*, to which is attached a sort of shield or *grand'-garde*, and over that a drapery; which, says the text (dictated by the emperor himself), was sent flying when the opponent's lance made a successful thrust,—"*Comme elle n'étoit que légèrement attachée, elle sautoit en l'air quand l'atteinte étoit bonne.*" The knight armed for the "Course au bourrelet" has no *salade* or other head-defence proper, but the fixed shield or *grand'-garde* is carried as high as the temples, and at the level of the eyes are horizontal clefts for vision. The Maximilian knight, who figures in the *Course à la Bund*, has his lance furnished with the kind of vamplate named by the Germans "*Gärbeisen*," of which good examples exist in the Tower, Nos. $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$, and in the Rotunda Museum, No. $\frac{1}{2}$. He has also the great iron queue, fixed to the right side of his body-armour. The Woolwich lance-head is of steel, measuring $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the opening of the socket.

For comparison, a few lance-heads of the sixteenth century are added, of the two kinds, for the *Scharfrennen*, or course with pointed spear, and the joust with blunt lance.

The sharp spears, Nos. 1 and 2, are from the "Triumph" of the Emperor Maximilian. No. 1 is described as a "lance de cavalier, sans rouelle." No. 2 is from the figure of a knight armed for the "Course à la poële," an exercise in which the champion contended without any head-defence. "Aussi avoit-on la coustume de placer tousjours un cercueil dans la carriere, avant que les champions entreprissent la course." No. 3 is from an original in the Dresden Museum, figured by Hefner in the third part of his "Trachten," pl. 75. The champions in this case carried grand'-gardes of wood, and rode on flat saddles, so that the victory was obtained by the strongest jouster pushing his adversary ignominiously over his horse's haunches. No. 4 is of the same period (early sixteenth century), from an original example in the Dresden Museum, engraved by Hefner, pl. 99, part iii. No. 5 is from the Tourney-Book of Duke William IV. of Bavaria (Hefner, part iii. pl. 89).

Of the coronels for the jousting lance we give five examples. No. 6 is from the Tournament Roll of Henry VIII., preserved in the Heralds' College, a most curious monument of the royal and knightly pastimes of this period. No. 7 is seen in many examples—as in Schlichtegroll's Bavarian Tourney-Book, in Kuchler's Pageant, and in Hefner, from a specimen in the Dresden Collection (part iii. pl. 99). No. 8 is from Grose's Ancient Armour, pl. 31. No. 9 is from Maximilian's Triumph, "La joute allemande." Similar trident heads are employed for the "Joute italienne" and the "Joute à la haute barde." No. 10 represents an original spear-head in the Dresden Museum, given by Hefner, pl. 99, part iii. The very curious example, fig. 11, is from one of the hastiludes in the edition of Jost Amman of 1599 (Kunst und Lehrbüchlein). The champion who employs it has fixed the hook at the junction of the body-armour and helmet of his antagonist; and, from the ground being strewn with broken lances and with swords, it would seem that this implement was used as a last resource—the *ultima ratio militum*. The duello in question appears on woodcut No. 243, one of those not found in the edition of 1578. Students familiar with manuscript illuminations will remember that it is commonly at the junction of the headpiece and body-armour that the victorious knight is represented as piercing his antagonist. The so-called burgonet, with



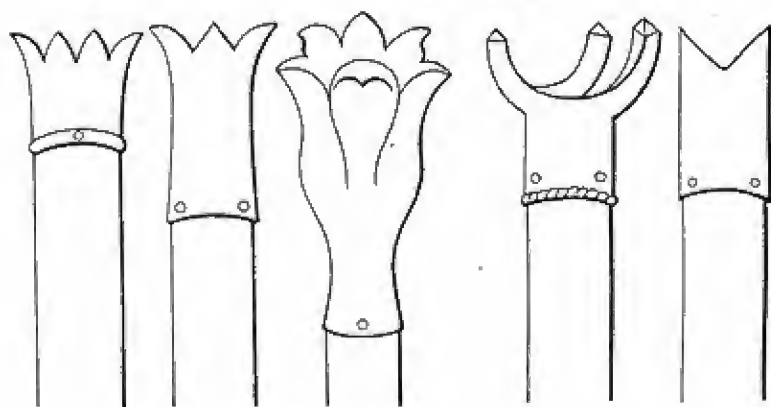
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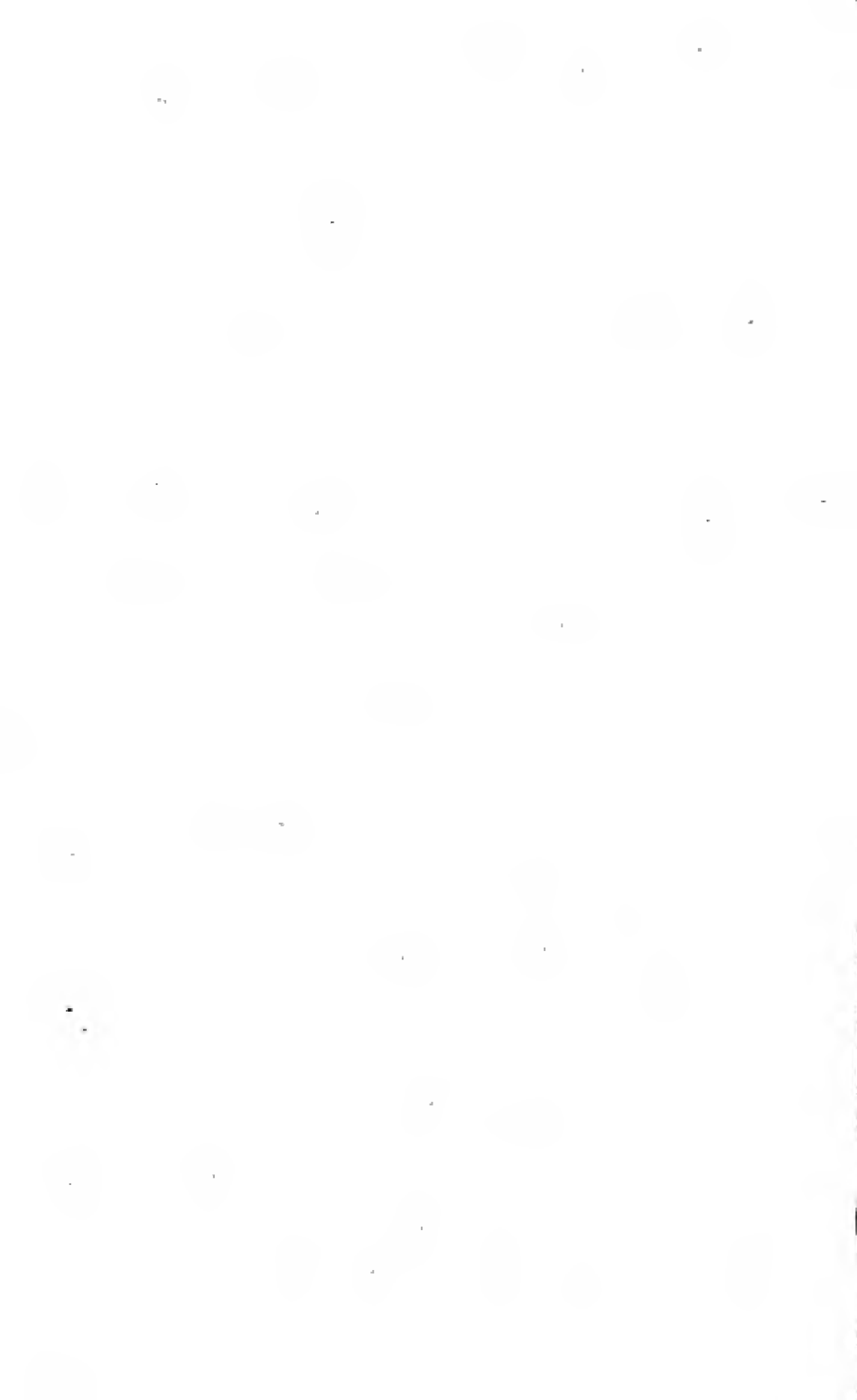
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Lance-heads and Coronels for the Tiltng Lance.



its overlapping collar, was contrived to rectify this deficiency in the knightly equipment.

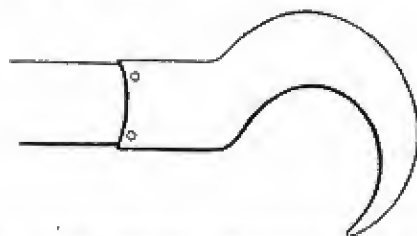


Fig. 11.—Hooked Lance-head, from a woodcut by Jost Amman.

Somewhat similar hooked weapons were used in actual warfare in the fourteenth century, as we learn from Froissart. In 1340, at the siege of Mortaigne, the Sire de Beaujeu, on the side of the defenders, "*tenoit un glaive roide et fort, à un long fer bien acéré ; et dessous ce fer avoit un havet aigu et prenant, si que, quand il avoit lancé et il pouvoit sacher en fichant le havet en plates ou en haubergeon dont on étoit armé, il convenoit que on s'en venist ou que on fût renversé en l'eau. Par cette maniere en attrapa-t-il et noya ce jour plus d'une douzaine.*" (Vol. i. p. 118, ed. Buchon.) Representations of the lance with coronel of this century (the fourteenth), will be found in Roy. MS. 14 E. III, Ashmolean MS. 764, Strutt's Sports, Skelton's Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Collection, vol. i., pl. 11, and Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. iv. p. 272.

The Woolwich example is of the utmost rarity. There is no similar specimen in the Tower collection, and it does not appear in the most recent catalogue of the Artillery Museum of Paris.

NOTE ON THE ORIGIN AND USE OF THE CORONEL.

It has been noticed by Mr. Hewitt, in his valuable treatise on "Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe," vol. ii. p. 242, that, by an Ordinance of the thirteenth century, the spear-head for the hastilude was required to be blunted (Froissart, t. ii. 16). As this regulation, however, was sometimes evaded, it was ordered, in the fourteenth century, that the head should be made in the form of a coronel, the points of which might have sufficient hold on the knight's armour to thrust him from his saddle, while the fashion of the instrument prevented it from inflicting any dangerous wound.

It is obvious that this substitute for a sharp point received its name, as Sir Samuel Meyrick observed, from its resemblance to a little crown ; it is also sometimes called a "*cronet*," a diminutive doubtless identical with

corquet, as we now use that word. In the Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, supposed to have been written about the time of Edward III., it is related that the lion-hearted king ran a course at a marble image set up in the city of Gatrys. A powerful shaft of trusty tree was prepared, stoutly strengthened with steel and iron :—

" And Kyng Richard, that grete syre,
Lete sette thereon a coronall keene."—

— Weber, Metr. Rom. vol. ii. p. 243.

He smote the statue in the face ; the head and body fell asunder, crushing five Saracens in the fall. In another passage we read that Richard bore a lance 14 ft. in length and 21 in. in circumference ; with this formidable weapon he ran at a knight and struck " his gorgette with his cornell," so that his neck was broken ; horse and rider fell, " and dyed bothe in that stounde." (Ibid., v. 297.) No earlier mention of the coronel appears to have been cited ; in the following century, we find it amongst the ordinary requisites of the joust. In the Ordinances for " all manner of justes of peace royall," made, by order of the king in 1466, by the Earl of Worcester, Constable of England, it was enacted that " who so meteth two tymes coronell to coronell shall have the price." (Meyrick, Crit. Enqu., vol. ii. pp. 147, 148, 2nd edit.) In the " Abilmentis for the Justus of Pees," t. Edw. IV., we find " vj. vamplatis, xij. grapers, and xij. cornallys, and xl. sperys " allowed to each joust. (Ibid., p. 155 ; Archæologia, vol. xvii. p. 292, from Sir John Paston's Book, Lansd. MS. 285, f. 10.) Again, in the Ordinance " To crie a Justus of Pees," printed in this Journal (vol. iv. p. 231) from the MS. collection of matters of chivalry at Melton Constable, Norfolk, it appears that officers of arms were appointed to regulate the measure of " speris garnyst, that ys, cornalle, wamplate, and grapers, alle of a syse," that the combatants should joust with.

Hall, in his Chronicle of the reign of Henry IV. (f. xij. edit. 1550), describing sumptuous preparations for feats of arms at Oxford, in 1399, and the harlequin hues chosen by the bands of jousters, says,— " Some had the spere, the burre, the cronet al yelow, and other had them of diverse colours." William Horman, in his quaint sentences entitled " *Vulgaria Puerorum*," 1519, uses the same term as follows :—" When men juste for pleasure and honour, as in turnamentis, they have not sharpe sperre heeydis but blunt cronettis (*contos præpilatos*)."

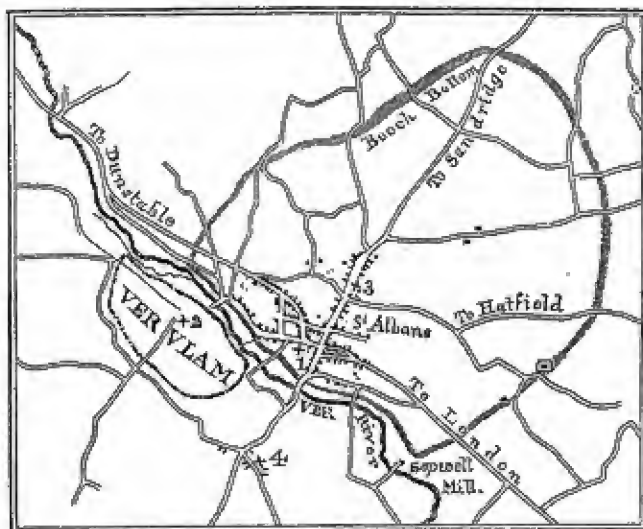
In a former volume of this Journal (vol. v. p. 227) a singular relic, brought under our notice by the late Lord Braybrooke, has been figured ; it is preserved in the Museum formed by him at Audley End. This object, a serrated ring of iron, about 4½ in. in diameter, may possibly, as has been suggested, have been a coronel ; it was found on the site of Hildersham Castle, Cambridgeshire, with part of a helmet, a spur, and a spear-head. The objection has been made that this ring seems of somewhat large dimensions to have been used as a coronel ; the numerous points, moreover, are not in accordance with the customary fashion of that object, which is usually represented with three or four points only ; it must, however, be considered that the tilting-shaft was often very unwieldy. At the nuptials of Louis XII. with the Princess Mary, in 1514, Sir John Pecho ran a course with a spear described as measuring 12 inches in compass. The number of points in the coronel may doubtless have varied with the dimensions of the shaft to which it was affixed.

A. W.

NOTICE OF VESTIGES NEAR ST. ALBANS, SUPPOSED TO INDICATE
THE SITE OF THE BRITISH TOWN OF CASSIVELAUNUS.

Communicated, through Mr. JAMES YATES, F.R.S., by Mr. SAMUEL SHARPE.

THE object of the following brief notice is to bring before the Archæological Institute my endeavours to trace the boundary of the British town of Cassivelaunus, within which St. Albans now stands, adjacent to the Roman Verulam.



Map of the British and Roman Towns of Verulam. From the Ordnance Survey.
Scale, one inch to a mile.

I was led to the inquiry by coming on the "Beech Bottom" in that neighbourhood—a very remarkable ditch, about a mile long, which may be compared to a deep railway cutting, with the earth thrown up sometimes on both sides, though chiefly southwards, or towards the town of St. Albans. Its depth may vary from twenty to thirty feet. Its banks are covered with woods. It is so obviously an

ancient military work that I was naturally led to search for traces of its continuation, with a view to learn what space it inclosed, and the conclusion that I came to was, that the fortified area was about two miles and a quarter long, and a mile and three quarters broad, inclosing the town of St. Albans. Its breadth is measured on the high road from London to Dunstable, and its length, at right angles to that road, by a line from the river, through the Abbey Church, towards the town of Sandridge.

Cæsar, in his Commentaries on the Gallic War, describes the city of Cassivelaunus as fortified by woods and marshes, and then holding a large number of men and cattle, that had come together there as a place of safety.¹ And, to explain what a British town was, to his Roman readers, who might expect to hear of buildings, or at least of dwellings of some kind, he observes, that when the Britons have fortified with bank and ditch woods which were otherwise nearly impassable, so that they might take refuge there from an incursion of their enemies, they called the place a town. He adds that the town of Cassivelaunus was in this manner excellently fortified, both by nature and art; and that when he took the place, he found there a large number of cattle. Cæsar does not give a name to the town, but it was probably called Verulam, the name given by the Romans to their fortified camp in the neighbourhood. The name of the tribe, the Cassii, and that of their leader, Cassivelaunus, may yet be traced in Cassiobury, the name of the hundred in which St. Albans stands.

With this description given to us by Cæsar, we need not be surprised at finding the British fortified area inclosing the town of St. Albans, the neighbouring common and numerous farms on three sides, being about twelve times the size of the well-walled Roman camp on the other side of the river.² Except at the "Beech Bottom" already described, the British ditch has very much been filled up, and its space reclaimed for the purposes of agriculture; and the yearly ploughing has given it an appearance of a natural depression in the ground. But here and there we find

¹ Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. xxi.

² A plan of the Roman city "Verulamium," taken by Stukeley in 1721, has been engraved by the Society of Anti-

quaries in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i. pl. 8, where many vestiges are shown that have subsequently disappeared.

traces of art sufficiently clear to enable us to follow the line of work on the map. From the west end of "Beech Bottom," it meets the river Ver, opposite to St. Michael's Church: this is its north-west limit. Its south-eastern side begins at Sopwell Mills, on the same river, passing by Camp House. It then turns to the north, crosses the Hatfield Road, and joins the northern end of "Beech Bottom" at the Sandridge Road. But this last portion was that which, from want of foot-paths, I was least able to trace with satisfaction. The fields on the side of the river Ver have evidently once been under water, as described by Cæsar, and would be so again if the channel of the river were neglected; but they were probably, by the help of art, covered with a greater depth of water than would naturally rest there: and the places where the river now falls, and is used to turn mills, are probably the spots where the British threw their banks across it, to deepen the marshes and strengthen their town.

Of the succession of ponds which we are thus making by conjecture, the upper one was long kept up by the Abbots of St. Albans, for the sake of the fish. But the town, on this side, was not fortified by its marshes only. The steep fall in the ground tells us that there was once a bank raised between the town and the river.

The accompanying map, copied from the Ordnance Survey, will best explain what has been said above. And, if it be granted that we have here correctly traced the boundaries of the town of Cassivelaunus, it will follow, that no work of the hand of man in the British Isles can boast of greater antiquity than the ditch called the "Beech Bottom." It is the only one that can be shown to have been made before Cæsar landed on our shores. After the place had been conquered by the Romans it can never have been worth while even to keep the entrenchment in repair.

ON THE PORTRAITS OF EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES (AFTER-
WARDS EDWARD V.) AND HIS SISTERS IN THE EAST WIN-
DOW OF LITTLE MALVERN CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE.

By EDMUND OLDFIELD, F.S.A., Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.

FEW exhibitions have lately taken place of greater archæological and artistic interest than that which, by the kindness of Mrs. Charles Winston, the Institute was enabled to open to the public in March and April, 1865. The series of fac-simile drawings from windows of the mediæval and cinquecentist periods, traced and coloured by the lamented author of "Hints on Glass-Painting" with a fidelity and skill rarely, if ever, equalled, formed collectively an illustrated synopsis of the history of an Art which no one in this country, it may safely be asserted, had ever studied more deeply, or in a healthier critical spirit. The Council of the Arundel Society, sympathising with the desire to render such a collection available for general instruction, placed gratuitously at the disposal of the Institute sufficient space in the apartments of that Society for the display of the most important and typical specimens of the drawings, arranged in the chronological sequence of the original windows. A learned and eloquent lecture, delivered by Mr. T. Gambier Parry on the 31st of March, and afterwards published in the "Ecclesiologist" (No. CLXVIII.), showed the value of the materials which Mr. Winston's labours had collected, as illustrations of Art. The archæologist, however, might have found in the subjects represented in the windows as much of curiosity and interest as the technical execution of the windows themselves presented to the artistic student. Christian hagiology, heraldry, mediæval palæography, the progressive phases of costume, armour, architecture, and mechanical invention, were alike illustrated in the designs of those fragile, yet, if rightly protected, most durable monuments, which our ancestors erected not merely for the gratification of the eye, but for historical and religious teaching. I now propose to offer a few

observations on two drawings in Mr. Winston's collection (shown on a reduced scale in the annexed woodcuts), which were made from the remains of a mutilated window in the church of Little Malvern, Worcestershire, and exactly represent the original in dimension, colour, texture, and actual condition.¹

The neglected and half-ruined building to which this interesting monument belongs was formerly the church of a small Priory or House of Benedictines, planted in the picturesque hillside which looks eastward over the rich vale of the Severn, and lies just below the ancient encampment crowning the height now known as the "Herefordshire Beacon."² The House itself was, like the older and larger Priory at Great Malvern, an offshoot of the Benedictine establishment at Worcester, having been founded A.D. 1171 by Brothers Jocelin and Edred, to extend religion and civilization to the wilds of Malvern Chase.³ In the lapse of three hundred years, however, the church and residences of the monks had fallen into decay; and from documents yet extant it appears that the discipline of the brotherhood was little less dilapidated. In 1476, John Alcock, a man of ability, learning, and character, was translated to the Bishopric of Worcester, which he occupied till 1486, when he was promoted to another see. During his episcopate at Worcester he rebuilt the church of Little Malvern, dedicating it anew to St. Mary, St. Giles, and St. John the Evangelist. The

¹ It is with regret that I call attention to an error in the printed Catalogue of Mr. Winston's Drawings which was brought out at the time of the Exhibition mentioned in the text; but the reproduction of the same error in the *Memoirs Illustrative of Glass-Painting*, lately published by Mr. Murray, forbids me to leave it unnoticed. The two drawings which form the subject of the present paper are there described as follows:—

"226. Prince Arthur, Little Malvern Church, Worcestershire.

"227. The Princesses, ditto. The Princess Elizabeth of York, afterwards Queen of Henry VII., and her sisters."

If the Editor of the Catalogue had access to the drawing numbered 226, he might have seen at the back, in Mr. Winston's handwriting:—

"Edward P. of Wales, eldest son of Ed. IV.; afterwards King Edward V."

Even without that authority, the slightest reflection might have shown him, that if one of the figures were "the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen," that is, the Princess in her maidenhood, her son Arthur could not have been represented in the same window.

² A view of the church, showing the exterior of the east window, is given in Chambers' *History of Malvern*, p. 102.

³ V. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 476 (*Annales Eccl. Wigorniensis*). "Anno MCLXXI. Fundatus est Prioratus S. Egidii Abbat' parvæ Malvern' a duobus fratribus, qui nati fuerant apud Betkeforde. Primus enim erat Prior sc. Jocelinus, Secundus Prior Edredus. Habitum religionis et regulam B. Benedicti et consuetudines a capitulo Wigorn. acceperunt." Cf. a MS. Chronicle in the Cotton Collection (Calig. A. x), cited by Nash, vol. ii. p. 140.

year in which this work was completed does not appear to be exactly recorded; but evidence exists, from which it may with tolerable confidence be inferred, and which, as the date is of importance in determining some of the persons represented in the window, may be briefly investigated.

In the Appendix to the notice of Little Malvern, contained in Dr. Nash's "Collections for the History of Worcester-shire," various original documents are published, taken from the registers of the episcopal see, and illustrating the history of the Priory. Amongst these is an instrument⁴ from Alcock's Register (fol. 69, a), recording the resignation of the Prior's office by John Wyttesham on the 19th July, 1480, and the removal for divers misdemeanours, two days after, of the four brethren, John Myldenham, George Malverne, John Ledbury, and Walter Gloucestre, who were consigned to the charge of the Abbot of Gloucester, head of their order, for discipline and reformation. Afterwards follows a letter from the Bishop to Brother Henry Morton of Tewkesbury,⁵ dated 11th September, 1480, which recites the vacancy of the Priorate by the resignation of Wyttesham, the incompetency of the monks by reason of their irregularities to elect a successor,⁶ and the consequent lapse of the nomination to himself,⁷ and then proceeds to appoint Morton to the vacant office. In this letter Alcock describes himself as "*fundator et patronus Domus sive Prioratus Sancti Egidii Minoris Malverne ordinis Sancti Benedicti nostre Wigorn. dioceseos*," and nominates Morton "*auctoritate nostra ordinaria ac jure fundacionis et patronatus ejusdem*." As, then, the title "*fundator*" does not occur in any of the charters or instruments of preceding Bishops of Worcester which are published in Nash's Appendix, it might possibly be interpreted as referring to the rebuilding of the church by Alcock, and hence be thought to prove that event anterior to 11th September, 1480. But this construction is not tenable. The title used is not "*fundator Ecclesiæ*," but "*fundator Domus sive Prioratus*;" and the tutelage named is not that of the three saints to whom the church was dedicated by Alcock, but simply that

⁴ Nash, vol. ii. p. 151.

⁵ "*Prefectio Prioris Minoris Malverne*," Alce. Reg., fol. 74, b; Nash, vol. ii. p. 152.

⁶ "*Ceteri confratres et communachi dicti Prioratus fuerint et sint, propter*

eorum demerita criminaque et excessus quibus respersi fuerint, ad eligendum alium Priorem inabiles et insufficientes."

⁷ "*Collatio, prefectio, et provisio Prioris ejusdem Prioratus ad nos legitime spectat hac vice.*"

of St. Giles, the patron saint of the ancient Priory. Moreover, the same right of appointing the Prior, which is here claimed by Alcock, amongst other grounds, "jure fundacionis," had been equally, and without dispute, exercised by his episcopal predecessors for three centuries previous, as appears from various documents published in this collection. We may therefore conclude that the title "fundator et patronus," with the corresponding "jus fundacionis et patronatus," though not mentioned expressly in any known earlier deed, really belonged alike to all the Bishops of Worcester, as representatives of the parent establishment from which Little Malvern was originally founded, and of which it always continued a branch.⁸ In other words, no reference is therein intended to Alcock personally, and it is consequently in no way implied that the church had yet been rebuilt.

But let us look a little further. It will be found, from the letter just cited, that though Morton was thereby nominated Prior, yet no successors were appointed to the four discharged monks. The explanation of this may not improbably be found in a later document in Nash's collection, of much importance to the present question.⁹ It is a letter in English from Alcock to the Prior and Brethren of Little Malvern, dated 22nd October, 1482, and contains the following passage:—"For as moche as *now* by his [God's] grace and mercy I have bylded your Church, your place of your logyng is sufficient repaireid, and as I suppose, a grete part of the dett of the seyde place be content." It then proceeds to order all the dismissed brethren, who "have byn this ii yeres yn worshippfull and holye places," except "Dan" John Wyttesham, to return to their Priory, and there pursue such rules; and celebrate such masses, as thereby prescribed. Here, then, is the first positive limitation of a date before which the rebuilding of the church must have occurred. And that it occurred not long before may, in the first place, naturally be inferred from the word "now," and is, I think, further confirmed by the mention of the repairs of the "logyng," and the order to the monks to return. For these

⁸ For the intimate relation maintained between Little Malvern and Worcester Priories, see particularly a charter set out in Nash, vol. ii. p. 155. "Carta Simonis Episcopi super subjectione Minoris Mal-

vernies." Reg. 1, Dec. et Cap., fol. 9, b. et fol. 40, a.

⁹ Entitled "Littere direct. a Domino Episcopo Priori et Conventui Minoris Malvernias." Nash, vol. ii. p. 152.

repairs would doubtless have been made during the absence, or, in modern academical phrase, the "rustication," of the four delinquent brethren, who appear, from a subsequent document in Alcock's Register,¹ dated 19th October, 1484, to have formed at that time, and therefore probably also in 1480, the entire establishment at Little Malvern; so that the house had been for a season altogether broken up. On these grounds, therefore, the 19th July, 1480, and the 22nd October, 1482, may safely be assumed as the limits of the period within which the church was rebuilt.

At the east end of the chancel was erected a window of Perpendicular style, divided by mullions into six vertical lights, with four smaller lights of quatrefoil form in the tracery above. The whole was filled with painted glass, which, on a system common in the 15th and 16th centuries, was arranged as a single composition, extending through all the openings of the window. Its treatment did not, indeed, exhibit that daring disregard of all external restraint which sometimes inspired the cinquecentist glass-painter to ignore altogether the intrusion of stone-work into his design, and continue the arms and legs of his figures through solid mullions, as if they were as permeable as the living wall between Pyramus and Thisbe.² In each vertical light at Little Malvern was depicted upon a blue or red background a distinct architectural canopy, represented in white glass, with ornaments of yellow staining, and shadows of enamel brown; below which appeared, as it were in a niche, a figure or figures kneeling in prayer. By this arrangement the subject in each light was at once complete in itself, and yet, by its correspondence with those of adjoining lights, contributed to a larger composition;—an admirable principle of design, which secured grandeur of scale, and breadth of general effect, without sacrificing that subordination of the decorative to the structural art, which, in all combinations of

¹ Entitled "*Acta in eleccione Prioris Minoris Malverne*," and relating to the appointment of a successor to Henry Morton in the Priorato. Reg. Alc. fol. 137, b. 138; v. Nash, vol. ii. p. 153.

² Examples of this may be seen in a window by Jean Cousin, in the *Sainte Chapelle* at Vincennes (v. Lasteysie, *Histoire de la Peinture sur Verre*, pl. lxx.); in one by Germain Michel, dated 1523, in the cathedral at Auxerre (*ib.*

pl. lxxix.); in one, dated 1513, in the cathedral at Auch (*ib.* pl. lxxxi. reproduced in *Hints on Glass-Painting*, pl. 22); and in another, attributed to Jean Cousin, in *S. Patrice* at Rouen (v. Langlois, *Essai sur la Peinture sur Verre*, pl. 3). The same false principle of composition appears in the flying angels in the east window of *St. Margaret's*, Westminster (v. *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. pl. xxvi.).

architecture with either sculpture or painting, is essential to truth, harmony, and repose. Unhappily, the glass which completed this symmetrical composition has fallen a sacrifice to the same long neglect which has caused the entire destruction of the transepts, the two side-chapels, and the sacristy of the church, and reduced the greater part of the nave to an ivy-covered ruin.³ Of the two central and two outer panels of the window, all but a few fragments have perished; nor would it have been easy to identify the subject of the whole merely from the two panels which remain. Fortunately, however, a detailed description of the entire design, written whilst the glass was still perfect, has been preserved among the manuscripts of Thomas Habington of Hinlip, now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London. This industrious topographer, who was born about A.D. 1560, having in early life engaged in a conspiracy for the rescue of Mary, Queen of Scots, and afterwards been in some degree involved in the Gunpowder Plot, was pardoned by James I. on condition of never again quitting the county of Worcestershire. To the illustration of this extensive and not disagreeable prison he accordingly devoted the remainder of a life prolonged to the age of eighty-seven. His papers, transcribed by his son William, the poet and historian, and bequeathed by Bishop Lyttelton, in 1768, to the Society of Antiquaries, have been largely used by subsequent writers, not always with due acknowledgment. The description of the Little Malvern window was first published by Stevens, in his *Additions to Dugdale's "Monasticon,"*⁴ but is there said to have been communicated by Mr. Canning of Foxcote, without any mention of Habington's name. Dr. Nash in his *History of the County,*⁵ and the editors of the last edition of the *"Monasticon,"*⁶ republish the description, with proper commemoration of the original author, but in a modernized, incomplete, and even incorrect form. The reader is therefore here presented with Habington's *ipsissima verba*⁷ :—

³ See a letter addressed to the Institute in May, 1844, by the late Rev. Thomas Dean, Perpetual Curate of Little Malvern, and published in the first volume of this Journal, p. 250.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 353.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 142.

⁶ Vol. iv. p. 448.

⁷ See Manuscript Survey of Worcestershire, vol. iii., in the library of the Soc. Ant.

London, MS., No. cxliii. Cf. Dr. Prattinton's large collections for the history of that county, preserved in the same library, vol. xxiii. For this transcript from Habington's papers, and for the references to Prattinton, as well as for the information given in the text on the present condition of the window, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Mr. Way.

"In the east window of the Quayre, consystringe of syx lofty panes, theare is paynted, in the middest and worthiest of them, Edward the fourthe in a robe of Ermynes, wearinge hys ryghtefull imperiall crowne, yet purchased anewe with divers blouddy Battelles; and, in the next pane, his Queene with the lyke diadem, beeing theareto strangly advanced, thoughe her lyfe dyd rather weare a thorny crowne of discontentmentes and extreeme afflictions. In the pane behind the kinge was hys ealdest sonne the Prynce, after Edward the fyfte, thoughe the Crowne hoveringe over hys heade neaver covered it; his surcoat was heere Azure, and hys robe Gules turned downe and lyned with Ermine, and on his heade a Princes Crowne: and in the last pane of that syde his brother Richard Duke of Yorcke, his surcoate Gules and his robe Asure turned downe Ermine, and one roe to the foote of the same, havinge on hys heade a Dukes crowne; but thease sons beeing bothe murdered by theyre unnaturall unckell, thoughe losinge with theyre lyfes theyre earthly crownes, have, I hope, by theyre innocent deathes gayned eternall crownes in heaven. In the pane behind the Queene was theyre ealdest daughter the Lady Elizabeth as the onely braunche from whom (after her brothers so cut of from the tree of lyfe) shoulde springe all the kinges of England and Scotland; behind, her systers, of whom remayneth as now no issue. In the last pane of all was John Alcocke, Bishop of Worcester, kneelinge as thease and prayinge for them all. In the highest closure of this window, beeing devyded into foure panes, was, in the principall and myddest of them, France and England quarterly, and, over, an Imperiall crowne supported with towre Angels argent winged Or, and belowe with towre Lyons Or. In the next pane the Queenes Armes consystringe of six peeces;⁶ 1. A lyon rampant, the coullers faded; 2. Quarterly Gules and Vert,⁷ on the Gules a Star¹ Argent, on the Vert a floure de lyze Or;² 3. Barry a lyon rampant,

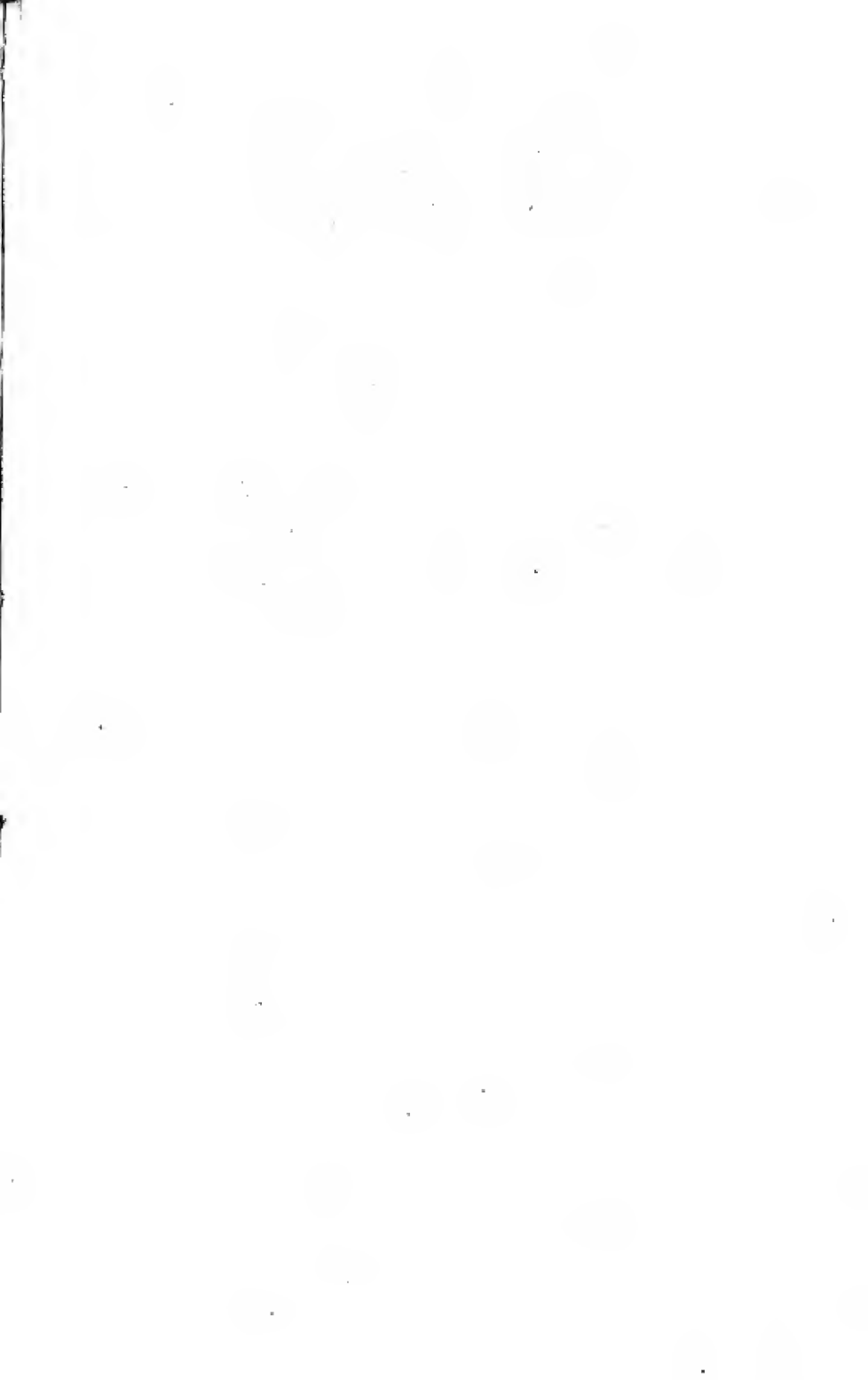
⁶ In the margin is written, apparently by a contemporary hand—"1. Mounsyre de Lyon; 2. (blank); 3. (blank); 4. St Payne de la Marche; 5. (blank); 6. Wydvale Earle Rivers.

⁷ "Azure," Dr. Prattinton's MS.

¹ "Rather a Sun;" Prattinton.

² Prattinton notices the "azure semée of fleurs de lys." What now remains of

the Queen's arms in the window agrees exactly with those given in Sandford (Genealog. Hist., pp. 374, 407), from her seal, and in Willement (Regal Heraldry, p. 47, pl. ii.), from a manuscript in the College of Arms, in which the emblazonment is apparently taken from some painted glass formerly in Westminster Abbey.





Edward, Prince of Wales.
(Afterwards Edward V.)
From the East Window of Little Malvern Church.

the coullers faded; 4 and 5, so broaken as not to be blased; 6. Argent, a Fesse and Quarter Gules, supported with Angells as before, and over all a royall Diadem. Next pane behind the kinges Armes weare the Princes, beeing Quarterly Fraunce and England supported with Angells and Lyons, like the Kinges; on the sheild a Labell of three Argent, and over all on a Cap of Maintenance Argent turned up Ermine a Princes Crowne. In the pane behind the Queenes Armes, Argent, on a fesse, between three Cockes heades erazed Sables combes and bills Gules, a Bishops Miter Or; the coate supported with Angells like the others, and over all a Bishops Miter.³ In the syxt and southe pane of this windowe, belowe, is Checkie Or and Azure.⁴ In the lowest skyrt of thys windowe is wrytten,—*Orate pro anima Johānis Alcock Episcopi Wigorniensis, qui de nouo hanc Ecclesiam Sanctorum Dei Genitricis et S^{te} Egidii et S^{te} Johannis Euangelistæ edificauit, quondam Cancellarii Angliæ et Presidentis Concilii Edouardi Regis Quarti primo Regni.*"

In this description let us first notice the subjects of the two vertical lights or "panes," which have been, excepting a few slight mutilations, preserved entire; afterwards, those of the four which have almost as completely perished.

The second from the left represents the ill-fated Prince Edward, who, at the period here assigned for the erection of the window, was in his twelfth year, having been born on the 4th November, 1470. His face, as delineated in Mr. Winston's drawing,⁵ might be thought above that age; but his figure, when compared with the Lady (or, as we now say, the Princess) Elizabeth, who kneels beside a desk on the same level with himself, duly indicates his early youth; for she, who was then sixteen or seventeen, appears about three or four inches taller than her brother. Upon the costume of the Prince one observation only is needed, arising from the woodcut being without colour;—namely,

³ In the margin, "Alcocke Byshopp of Worcester."

⁴ In the margin, "Waren." Dugdale, who has preserved drawings of the heraldic bearings in the window (Church Notes, taken July, 1843, MS. Ashm. Mus., F. 1, p. 139), sets out this coat as "checky Or and Azure, a fess Gules." How the family of Warene, to which Habington appears to have referred these arms, was con-

nected either with Edward IV. or with Bishop Alcock, has never, it is believed, been explained.

⁵ An acknowledgment is here due to the liberality of Mrs. Charles Winston, for permitting the use of the woodcut representing the Prince, which she caused to be prepared for the second edition of the Hints on Glass-Painting, and which will there be given in colours.

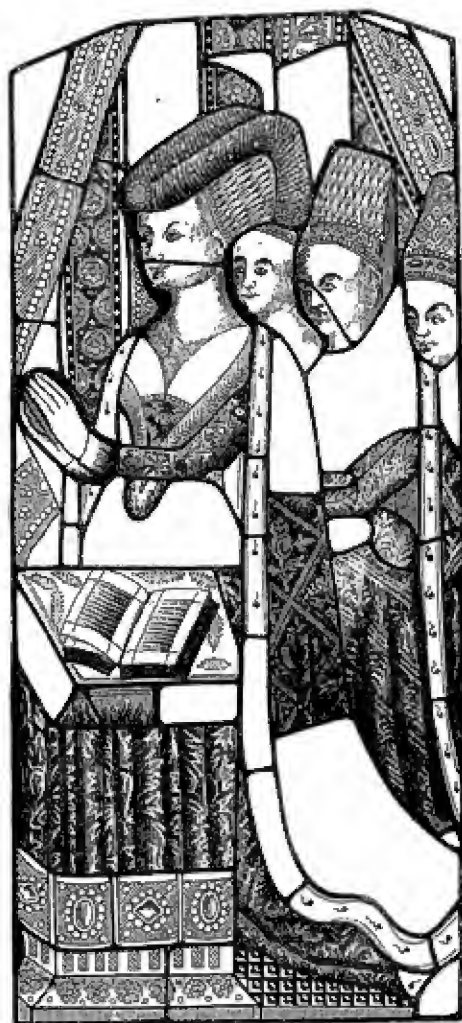
that the "gules robe" mentioned in the description is the outer mantle which falls behind; the "azure surcoat" is seen on the arm and chest, and again below near the knee. The crown to which Habington refers as "hovering over Edward's head, but never covering it," would seem to be merely a poetic conception of the writer; for the princely coronet duly covers the head of its owner, and the regal crown, with which Edward V., it is true, was never afterwards formally indued, could not have been introduced in a window executed in the lifetime of the Prince's father.

In the corresponding light, or second from the right, are still seen the kneeling figures of the four princesses, as described by Habington.⁶ Two only, Elizabeth and the second sister behind her, are so placed as to show their forms and robes. Each wears a blue bodice-shaped gown, disclosing underneath, in the figure of Elizabeth (and probably also in her sister's, though the glass is there destroyed), a gold embroidered stomacher, whilst above the gown is a mantle of crimson bordered with ermine. These garments resemble Prince Edward's in colour, and were the reverse or counterchange of the Duke of York's: like Edward's also, they are diapered throughout with flowers and foliage of no heraldic character. The head-dress of all the young ladies is interesting, as illustrating a certain phase in mediæval costume, which requires a few sentences of explanation.

In the reign of Edward IV. two earlier and well-known modes of attiring the head, of which it is hard to say which was the less graceful or more inconvenient, still continued in use, though somewhat shorn of the exuberant proportions which had excited the wrath of preachers, and the ridicule of satirists, under the Lancastrian kings. One was the horned or heart-shaped tire, which became generally prevalent in England under Henry V., probably through the influence of Katherine of France. The other was the "steeple," or "chimney," which enclosed the hair within a conical cap or roll, sometimes three quarters of an ell in height, made of cloth, linen, or silk, and originally garnished with a long veil depending from its apex.⁷ About the period of Edward, the steeple was often furnished, in lieu of

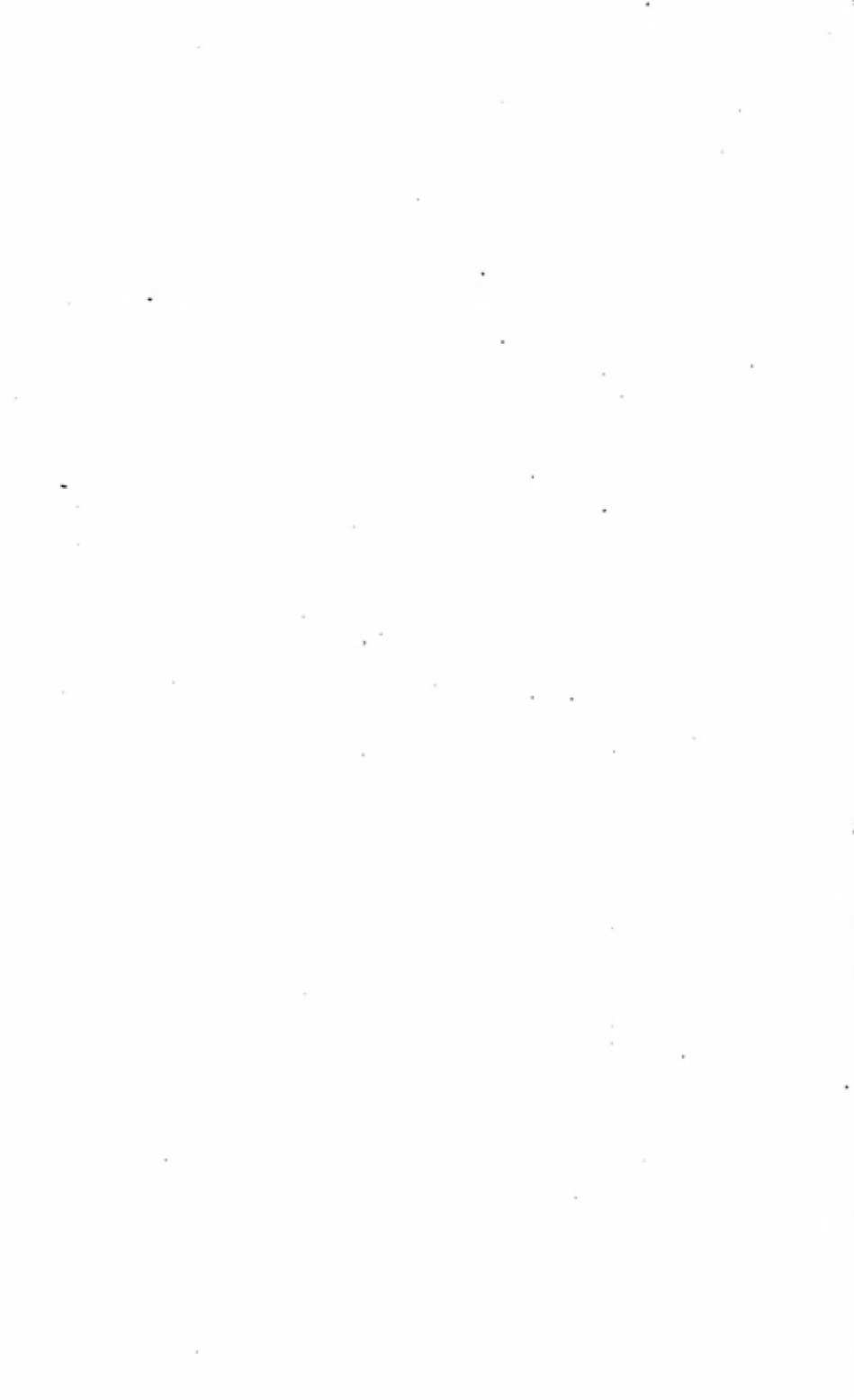
⁶ The woodcut of this subject has been kindly presented for the use of the Journal by Professor P. H. Delamotte, F.S.A., of King's College, London.

⁷ An old French writer, quoted by Mr. Shaw (*Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii. Plate 61), complains of the ladies of his day that —



The Princess Elizabeth of York, and three of her Sisters.

From the East Window of Little Malvern Church.



the veil, with two kerchiefs or wings, which procured for it the popular name of a "butterfly." By an almost ironical caprice of fortune, this latter variety, which to our eyes appears the very symbol of mediæval formalism, has, in a land of revolutions, survived institutions of far greater importance, and perhaps not inferior value; for with little change in form or dimension the butterfly still airs his wings over the heads of the peasant-women of Normandy. Towards the close of Edward's reign, and in that of Richard III., another modification of the steeple type is sometimes found in the form of a caul of gold net or embroidered linen, closely wound round the hair, and shaping it into a short cylinder, which generally stands out almost horizontally behind, and is covered with a floating gauze veil. This appears to have been the head-attire of Anne, Queen of Richard III., and some other ladies of the Nevill family, represented in the Warwick or Rowse Roll, preserved in the College of Arms.⁸ It is more clearly shown in the brass of Lady Say, in Broxbourn Church, Herts, dated 1473,⁹ and in another brass at Iselham, Cambridgeshire, representing Sir Thomas Peyton (who died in 1484) between his two wives, each attired in this fashion.¹

Now the portrait of Princess Elizabeth in the Little Malvern window exhibits one of the latest representations of the horned tire which still remain. The head being seen nearly in profile, and the two horns brought close together, the type might not by itself be recognised; but the illuminations in manuscripts of the fifteenth century supply ample explanation of the arrangement intended. The upper edge of the two horns, which in the glass is painted brown, and looks much like hair adorned with gold leaves and a jewelled brooch, is probably only a linen roll, for the same part is sometimes coloured in manuscripts blue, pink, or green. A head-dress seen from the same point of view as this, and identical in form, occurs in an illumination in the British Museum, attributed to the time of Henry VI.² It is indeed

"Tant que plus belles et jeunes elles sont,

"Plus hautes chemisees elles ont."

⁸ See the Warwick Roll, by John Rows of Guy's Cliff, published by Pickering, in a quarto volume, London, 1845, with facsimiles of the figures.

⁹ See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments,

vol. ii. pl. lxxxviii.; Waller's Monumental Brasses, pl. xlv.

¹ See Gough, vol. ii. pl. civ. Another example, from an illuminated manuscript in the British Museum (Reg. 15, F. ii.), is published in Planche's British Costume, p. 218.

² MS. Reg. 15, E. vi. This is engraved.

only a variety, in more modest proportions, of the stately tire represented in Montfaucon, as worn more than half a century earlier by Isabella of Bavaria, Queen of Charles VI. of France.³ Of this princess it is related (the reader may believe it or not) that a door in the palace of Vincennes had to be enlarged to allow her to pass through; though it is uncertain whether the obstruction was caused by a horned or a chimney tire, as she appears with the latter in an illumination representing the celebrated and fatal masquerade of Charles VI., in a manuscript of Froissart of the fifteenth century.⁴

The head-dresses of the younger princesses in the window, of which the second only is fully preserved, must, I think, be considered varieties of the type mentioned as the latest modification of the steeple. They differ from those of Lady Say and the two Ladies Peyton, in not standing out horizontally, but rising upwards, like truncated "chimneys," as well as in not being enveloped in the large floating veil. In lieu of this veil is seen, at the back of the second sister's head, what might possibly be taken for a stream of golden hair escaping through the top of the structure. I know of no example, however, of hair brought through a cylinder or steeple-tire, though it was occasionally passed through another kind of tire, which consisted of a simple annular roll of cloth or other material, encircling the head, something like an ancient Greek *μίτρα*.⁵ The head-dress of this princess is more probably meant to be decorated with a yellow pendent kerchief, and may be compared to one published by Strutt, from a manuscript in the British Museum, though it is smaller in dimension and quieter in arrangement.⁶

Of the four other vertical lights in the window, the two central contained the portraits of Edward IV. and his Queen, doubtless kneeling, like their children, beside desks. Of the King's figure there are now no remains; of Elizabeth's, only a few scattered and doubtful fragments.⁷ It is

in Strutt's *Dresses and Habits*, pl. cxix., and in *Planché*, p. 193.

³ *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, vol. iii. p. 103, pl. xxv. The head-dress is there surmounted by a crown.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 18, E. ii.* This illumination is published in colours by

Mr. Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii. pl. 61.

⁵ V. an illustration in Mr. Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 186.

⁶ *MS. Harl. 4376*; Strutt, pl. cxv. fig. 5.

⁷ Mr. Dean, in the letter referred to in

to be observed that Habington, whose description derives a quaint and interesting freshness from the intermixture of moral reflections and personal sympathies with the dryer details of heraldry, is careful to speak of Edward's "ryghtefull" crown; and takes note of "the Lady Elizabeth as the onely braunche from whom should springe all the Kinges of England and Scotland." So good an antiquary and genealogist was doubtless aware that the legitimate representation of Edward III. lay in the House of York, not in that of Lancaster; and therefore even after the union of the Roses by the marriage of Henry VII., he points out that the Queen, rather than her husband, was the true ancestor from whom both Tudors and Stuarts derived their crowns.

The outer light on the left, which represented the Duke of York, has entirely perished. Of that on the right, however, where the donor was himself introduced, some remains are still preserved, which are thus described in a memorandum drawn up for me by Mr. Albert Way, from observations formerly made in the church:—

"There are considerable portions of a figure vested in pontificals; the chasuble is of violet colour, with a rich orfray; the alb has likewise an elaborate *parura*; a crozier is seen borne on the left; and in the right hand there is a book, and a chain to which is appended a singular padlock, the device, possibly, of Edward IV., but the falcon usually found in combination with the favourite badge of the House of York, the fetterlock, is here wanting. This mutilated figure, in such sumptuous costume, may have been that of the Chancellor prelate, founder of the church, whose arms were subsequently taken as those of the Priory, and who may have been here represented as bearing the badge of his royal patron."

The glass in the small quatrefoil lights above has been more fortunate than most of that below; for all the achievements, except the Queen's, remain as blazoned by Habington. The only point for note in this part of his description is the introduction of the "Imperial," or double-arched, crown, which is also mentioned as worn both by the King

a previous note, speaks of the "figure of the Queen" as "nearly perfect" in 1844; but this is at variance both with all the published authorities, and with Mr. Way's very careful notes, taken in that year.

It may, therefore, be suspected that Mr. Deau mistook the figure of the Princess Elizabeth in the adjoining light for that of the Queen.

and Queen in the two lost portraits in the lower lights. Edward IV. is the first of our sovereigns on whose seal this crown occurs, though it is not found upon the coins of any King prior to Henry VII. In the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth is a manuscript with a highly interesting illumination, representing Earl Rivers, (the accomplished brother of the former Elizabeth Widville, now "strangely advanced" to the throne,) and a person supposed to be Caxton the printer, presenting a book to the King and Queen in the midst of their court; and in this illumination both Edward and Elizabeth wear imperial crowns.⁸ Richard III. has a similar crown in the Warwick Roll, as well as in another illuminated manuscript, also from the hand of John Rowse, of Guy's Cliff, now in the Cottonian collection;⁹ and it was doubtless such a crown which the usurper carried into the field at Bosworth, and which was picked up by Lord Stanley, and placed on the head of Richmond.

It is said in the notes to the last edition of Dugdale's "Monasticon,"¹ that no trace exists of the inscription at the foot of the window,—an incorrect assertion, as appears from the following note by Mr. Way:—"Of the inscription at the foot of the window there remain in the first light the words 'hanc eccl'iam suis;' in the second—'Wygo... hui' Mon' q' de novo;' of the inscribed band in the third light no portion exists; in the fourth may be read—'Dei genit' Marie S'ci egidii et S'ci Joh'is evag...' If these fragments are now in their original position, it is impossible to reconcile them with the inscription as copied by Habington, and hardly possible, even if we reject Habington's version, to explain how 'hanc ecclesiam' could have preceded 'qui de novo.' It is therefore more probable that the fragments have been accidentally misplaced; and as there are also two or three words remaining on the glass which are omitted by Habington, it must be concluded either that he could not exactly decypher the whole when *in situ*, or that his son did not fully and correctly transcribe his notes. It may perhaps, then, be allowed to submit the

⁸ Cat. MSS. Bibl. Lambethanae, cclxv. An engraving of this illumination forms the frontispiece to the second volume of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*. The original was lent by the Archbishop of Canterbury for exhibition at Rochester, during the Annual Congress of the Insti-

tute in 1864.

⁹ Jul. E. iv., the pedigree of the Beauchamp family. The portrait of Richard in this manuscript is given in *Meyrick's Ancient Armour*, vol. ii. p. 177.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 448.

following conjectural restoration and divisional arrangement of the inscription, printing in Italics the words actually remaining in the window which are omitted by Habington, and in brackets those which are here hypothetically suggested to complete the sense. The abbreviations may be passed over, to avoid needless complexity. In the first light might have originally been—‘Orate pro animâ Johannis Alcock Episcopi;’ in the second—‘Wygorniensis, [*fundatoris*] *hujus Monasterii*, qui de novo;’ in the third—‘hanc ecclesiam suis [*sumptibus in honorem*] Sanctorum;’ in the fourth—‘Dei genitricis Mariæ, Sancti Egidii, et Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ;’ in the fifth—‘edificavit, quondam Cancellarii Angliæ, et Præsidentis;’ and in the sixth—‘Conciliî Edouardi Regis Quarti, primo Regni.’ In this restoration the least possible variation is made from Habington’s version; but if flaws in his accuracy are once admitted (as cannot indeed be avoided), it may be further doubted, whether the words ‘pro animâ’ should not rather have been rendered ‘pro bono statu,’ the phrase usually employed in referring to persons still living.”²

Passing now from the glass-paintings to the persons represented in them, it may be asked who were the four princesses whose portraits are before us? The King and Queen had in all seven daughters,—Elizabeth, Mary, Cecily, Margaret, Anne, Katherine, and Bridget. Sufficient reason must therefore be found for the omission of three from the window. Now Margaret, who was born on the 19th of April, 1472, died on the 11th of the following December, nearly ten years before the completion of the restored church; she was therefore of course not here portrayed. Mary, who by an unaccountable error is placed by William Habington,³ Speed,⁴ and Sandford,⁵ (though not by Carte,⁶) fifth in the list, appears from indisputable evidence to have been the second, having been born in August, either 1466 or 1467.⁷ She died on the 23rd of May, 1482;

² Habington has himself recorded, that in another window erected by the same pious donor in the Priory Church of St. Mary, Great Malvern, on the south side of the nave, was the Bishop’s portrait, with the inscription,—“Orate pro bono statu religiosi viri Johannis Alcock Episcopi Wigorn. Cancellarii Angliæ.” V. Nash, vol. ii. p. 130.

³ History of Edward IV., reprinted in Kennet’s Complete History of England, vol. i. p. 429.

⁴ History of Great Britain, p. 880.

⁵ Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, p. 418.

⁶ History of England, vol. ii. p. 808.

⁷ The Annals of William of Worcester (Hearne, vol. ii. p. 510) enter her birth

and as the church is not proved to have been finished till the 22nd of October in that year, and the glass-paintings would probably be the latest work executed, we are justified in conjecturing her to be excluded from the window, as no longer living. Of the remaining five sisters, who all survived their father, Bridget may most naturally be the one omitted, having been born only on the 10th of November, 1480. A writer of the last century, in describing a similar window, which will presently be noticed, representing also the family of Edward IV., considers that Bridget was not there introduced, because "she early became a nun at Dartford."⁸ A very insufficient reason; for neither could the Princess in her second year have already taken the veil, nor, if she had, need this have deprived her of the honours of portraiture in a family monument.⁹ We may better explain her absence in the window at Little Malvern simply on the ground of her tender age, which did not admit of her appearing with propriety amongst the kneeling group.

The subjects of our window-light are thus reduced to Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne, and Katherine. The history of the future Queen of Henry VII. is sufficiently familiar;¹ and all that is known of her sisters has been so fully and carefully related by Mrs. Everett Green in her "Lives of the Princesses of England," as to need no repetition here. It only remains to distinguish, if possible, the several portraits. That of Elizabeth admits of no question; for the others, we have no safer guide than apparent age. It is true that one, Cecily, had the reputation of superiority in outward attractions; for Sir Thomas More, in his history of the years 1483-4, written in 1513, distinguishes her, in his enumeration of Edward's daughters, by the words, "not so fortunate as fair."² But to discriminate the degrees of beauty in the three younger

under 1407; but Sir Frederick Madden (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1831, p. 24), places it a year earlier, on the authority of a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. MSS. No. 6118); and he is followed by Mrs. Everett Green, vol. iii. p. 396. For proof that Mary was born at least before the 9th of October, 1468, see Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 631.

⁸ Gostling, *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury* (2nd ed.), p. 339.

⁹ Mrs. Green (vol. iv. p. 46) shows

satisfactorily that Bridget did not profess before 1486, at the earliest.

¹ Yet, singularly enough, even her age is disputed. For she is said by Sandford, Carte, and all the older writers, to have been born on the 11th of February, 1466; but Sir F. Madden (*loc. cit.*), following Sir N. H. Nicolas, as well as the inscription on her tomb, corrects this to 1465.

² More's history is incorporated in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. iii. p. 360; and in *Grafton*, vol. ii. p. 79. Cf. Hall, p. 345.

damsels depicted at Little Malvern, would demand the skill of the Shepherd of Mount Ida. A more diffident critic in such subjects may content himself with saying, that the oldest appears to be the one whose figure is seen kneeling immediately behind Elizabeth, with the head-dress and kerchief already described. This may therefore be assumed as Cecily, then in her thirteenth year. The next, Anne, who was in her seventh year, is probably the one whose head appears further to the right, with an attire similar to Cecily's, except that no kerchief is visible. The youngest, Katherine, who was at least three years old, and probably more, shows only her face, between her two eldest sisters.³

It may, perhaps, be thought that the countenances of the two youngest princesses, like that of their brother, indicate greater age than accords with the chronology here laid down. But the true expression of youthfulness required a pictorial skill beyond the reach of the ancient glass-painter. In that graceful and interesting subject, common in the windows of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—"Saint Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin to read"—the features of Mary are generally too womanly for her age. Even in an artistic sphere of higher pretension, the fresco and distemper painting of contemporary Italy, a similar defect often appears. Lord Lindsay, indeed, observes that "the delineation of childhood was one of the latest triumphs of Art,"⁴ and Mr. Ruskin, in his notice of a youthful figure of the Virgin painted by Giotto, seems to assent to this opinion.⁵

It is hardly necessary to point out the interest of a strictly contemporary portrait of the unfortunate Prince Edward. Two others only exist, as far as I am aware, and of these one only is now complete. This is to be found in the illumination already referred to, in the manuscript of the Lambeth Library, where the Prince is introduced standing beside the King and Queen. His figure there appears even younger than in the window at Little Malvern; and if

³ The exact era of her birth is unknown, but it is proved to have been prior to the 28th of August, 1479, by a treaty of that date in Rymer (vol. xii. p. 110), made between Edward IV. and Ferdinand of Arragon, by which Katherine was contracted in marriage to John, the heir of the united Spanish monarchies, who was himself only born on the 30th of June,

1478. This contract, like those which Edward made for the marriage of his other daughters to the heirs of France, Scotland, and Burgundy, was utterly forgotten after his death.

⁴ History of Christian Art, vol. ii. p. 187.

⁵ Giotto and his Works in Padua, p. 65.

the illumination represents, as is commonly supposed, the presentation to Edward IV. of the "Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers,"—a book translated from the French by Lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton in 1477, the Prince is probably meant to be delineated at about seven years of age.

The other contemporary, but now incomplete, portrait of Edward forms part of a large and splendid window, which in its original state comprehended a great variety of subjects, and, amongst them, a similar family group to that depicted at Little Malvern. This window occupies the north end of the western transept of Canterbury Cathedral, overlooking the "Martyrdom," and is fully described by Gostling,⁶ though no engraving of it has, I believe, ever been published. It is divided vertically into seven lights, across which are carried three horizontal ranges of continuous subjects, one above another. The middle or principal range represents Edward IV. and his Queen, their two sons, and five daughters, kneeling on each side of a crucifix, which formerly filled the central compartment of this range, but is now destroyed. During the Puritan ravages in 1642 one Richard Culmer, commonly known as "Blue Dick," at some risk of his own neck, demolished great part of the paintings in the window, including the central crucifix and all the figures of the higher and lower ranges, representing the Almighty, the Virgin Mary "in seven several glorious appearances," St. Thomas à Becket, and various other "Popish Saints."⁷ He spared, however, the interesting, and fortunately not "idolatrous," figures of the royal House of York. But whether by an accidental flourish of his iconoclastic pike, or by mischance on some other occasion, the head of the Prince of Wales was unfortunately destroyed,

⁶ Op. Cit. pp. 208-212, 322-345. It is also mentioned by Mr. Winston, as having, in common with the Little Malvern Window, "a remarkably soft and silvery appearance." *Hints on Glass-Painting*, p. 118.

⁷ This achievement is related with some pride by the performer himself in a narrative quoted by Gostling, p. 210. "A minister," he tells us, "was on the top of the city ladder, near sixty steps high, with a whole pike in his hand, rattling down proud Becket's glassie bones, when others then present would

not venture so high." Gostling adds, but not on Blue Dick's authority, that "a townsman, who was among those who were looking at him, desired to know what he was doing. 'I am doing the work of the Lord,' says he. 'Then,' replied the other, 'If it please the Lord, I will help you;' and threw a stone with so good a will, that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making." This incident is somewhat differently told by Dart, *History of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, p. 29.

and had been, before Gostling's time, "replaced by the fair face of a mitred saint." Edward's figure occupies a corresponding compartment to that at Little Malvern, the second from the left, between the Duke of York and the King, and is in a similar attitude, kneeling beside a desk with an open book.

There remains, however, another portrait of the Prince, which, though not strictly contemporary, was certainly executed for, and possibly by, one who had seen him. It is one of four paintings on a screen outside the Choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, representing, on a scale somewhat less than life, Edward son of Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., and Henry VII. An inscription below commemorates Dr. Oliver King, Canon of Windsor, successively Secretary to all these royal persons, whose lineaments he gratefully desired to record for posterity. As this inscription mentions King's promotion to the Bishopric of Exeter in 1492, but not his translation in 1495 to Bath and Wells, nor his death in 1503, it must apparently have been executed during his episcopate at Exeter, that is, from nine to twelve years after the murder of Edward V.; and with the inscription the paintings were obviously contemporary. There is, therefore, hardly sufficient reason for rejecting the authenticity of the portrait simply from the lateness of its date, as Sir Samuel Meyrick was inclined to do;⁸ though it must be admitted that the features of all the four heads, as published by Carter, have but little individuality. It is remarkable that above the figure of Edward is represented, as if in the air, the very "crowne hovering over hys heade," which Habington erroneously introduces in his account of Little Malvern. We may thence, perhaps, conjecture that the passage already cited from that topographer was not written or corrected in presence of the window he was describing, but in his own study, where his memory betrayed him into a slight confusion between the Prince's portrait at Little Malvern and another which he had probably seen many years before at Windsor.

Of Elizabeth of York before her marriage the only other known portrait is in the Canterbury window. She is there represented in the compartment next behind her mother,

⁸ See the text to Plate I. of Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture in England*.

kneeling at a desk with an open book, just as at Little Malvern. The likeness, however, like Prince Edward's, is imperfect, for the original face has been replaced by that of another person.

As Queen of Henry VII., we have various portraits of her, real or reputed. One of them, indeed, can be accepted as authoritative, the effigy on the well-known royal tomb in Westminster Abbey, sculptured by Torrigiano. Two other queenly portraits, however, to which her name has been attached, require a passing notice, rather from the interest of the two monuments of bygone art in which they occur, than from any weight of evidence connecting them with Elizabeth. The first is in the curious historical tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, a notice of which was communicated by Mr. Scharf to the Society of Antiquaries in 1856.⁹ A letter from Mr. J. G. Nichols is published in Mr. Scharf's paper, in which it is suggested that the royal figures represented might be Henry VII. and Elizabeth, who were admitted as Brother and Sister of Trinity Guild at Coventry in 1499, a date doubtless according with the costumes, and with the general style of the tapestry. Mr. Scharf, however, does not seem to adopt this suggestion; and to me the balance of argument appears certainly in favour of the traditional belief, that the King and Queen intended are Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, who were admitted into the four united Guilds of Trinity, St. Mary, St. John, and St. Catherine, in 1456, though this interpretation may involve the supposition that the artist committed the not very uncommon anachronism of attiring his predecessors in the dress of his contemporaries. The second portrait is a kneeling figure in a side light of the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster. This is stated, in the marginal inscription on an engraving of the window published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1768, to be Elizabeth of York.¹ Mr. Winston, however, has justly argued, both from the figure of St. Catherine above the Queen, the pomegranate in an upper light, and the artistic style of the glass, which he considers as late as 1526, that the person intended is Catherine of Arragon.²

⁹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 438. Two coloured plates of the principal figures are given by Mr. Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii. pl. 47, 48.

¹ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. pl. xxvi. Cf. the descriptive text to pl. xlii., xlii., of the same volume, p. 7.

² *Hints on Glass-Painting*, p. 180, note

Several panel pictures exist, representing Elizabeth after her marriage, but it is unnecessary here to investigate their respective claims to authenticity. One, belonging to the Earl of Essex, is engraved by Lodge;³ and three others are now to be seen in the National Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington. These all represent the Queen, who lived till the 11th of February, 1503, in the gable-shaped head-dress of her later age. It would be difficult, however, to distinguish from any of her portraits that remarkable beauty which is spoken of by writers of her time, or even to identify the "fair hair" which is mentioned by Leland, and thus curiously referred to in a contemporary poem, entitled, "The Most Pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy," which was written by Humphrey Brereton, himself an actor in the scenes he describes.⁴ When appealing to Lord Stanley to rise in favour of Richmond against her uncle Richard, and unable at first to persuade him—

" Then from her head she cast her attire,
Her colour changed as pale as lead,
Her *faxe*, that shoon as the gold wire,
She tair it of beside her head."

In the Canterbury window, if Gostling may be relied on, the fair locks were duly portrayed; for he says that "the hair of all the five Princesses is golden;" which implies that, though the face of Elizabeth was lost, her tresses remained. But I confess to some doubt whether the writer has not confounded the hair with part of the head-gear, which is hardly likely to have differed much from the fashion of the time, as shown at Little Malvern.

The window at Canterbury supplies us also with trustworthy representations of the three younger sisters, originally identified by inscriptions underneath.⁵ With them appears the Princess Mary: and if the justice of the argument be allowed, that she was omitted at Little Malvern owing to the window having been erected after her death on the 23rd of May, 1482, we may accordingly conclude that the Canterbury window was anterior to that date.

³ *Illustrious Personages*, vol. i. pl. i.

⁴ Edited by Mr. Halliwell, in the *Percy Society Publications*, vol. xx. See p. 9.

⁵ "Under each figure was the name and

quality of the person; but these have been broken, and the fragments improperly put together, with no design but to fill up the vacancies." Gostling, *loc. cit.*

The only one of the younger sisters of whom any other likeness can now be cited is Anne, who married Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, the statesman and warrior of Henry VIII.'s reign, and father, by his second wife, of the poet Surrey. An effigy of Anne is upon the high tomb, erected by her husband about 1513, at Framlingham in Suffolk.⁶ Miss Strickland also mentions "a contemporary portrait in oil colours at Norfolk House, there called Elizabeth of York," but which she believes to represent the Princess Anne.⁷

Of Cecily, whose inferior fortune, in the eyes of Sir Thomas More, probably consisted in her marriages, the first to Viscount Wells, the second to Thomas Kymbe, and who died on the 24th of August, 1507, not even a sepulchral memorial remains. She was buried in the Abbey of Quarr, in the Isle of Wight; but at the dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry, the building and its monuments were alike destroyed.⁸

A similar fate befell the monument of Catherine, who married Sir William Courtenay, and styled herself on her seal, "*Countess of Devon*, daughter, sister, and aunt of Kings."⁹ She died on the 15th of November, 1527, and was buried in Tiverton Church; but the chapel and tomb erected there by her son Henry, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, was destroyed by the populace during the Reformation.¹

In modern times a representation of three of these royal ladies has appeared, which is entitled to mention, though

⁶ A plate of this effigy is given in the Memorials of the Howard Family, privately printed by Mr. Howard of Corby Castle, App. No. vi.

⁷ Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iv. p. 64 (n.).

⁸ Green's Lives of the Princesses, vol. iii. p. 436.

⁹ This seal is engraved in Sandford, p. 372. Catherine was not strictly entitled to the rank of "Countess," as her husband died before the Earldom was formally restored after the attainder of his father. Her grandson, the unfortunate Edward Courtenay, was at once the last descendant of Edward IV. except from his eldest daughter, the last heir of the second creation of Earls of Devon, and the first Earl of the third crea-

tion in 1553, which, after lying dormant nearly three centuries, was lately revived in a collateral, but strictly male, branch of this illustrious house. Edward Courtenay died unmarried in 1556; and Habington's statement, that "of Elizabeth's sisters remaineth as now (i.e. in Charles I.'s time,) no issue," was perfectly correct.

¹ Lives of the Princesses, vol. iv. p. 42. A monument remains in the north aisle of Colyton Church, Devonshire, in honor of Margaret Courtenay, a daughter of the Princess Catherine's, who died in early youth from swallowing a fish-bone. Lyson's Devon, p. cccxxxvii. The aisle of the church is now called "Choke-bone aisle."

unfortunately not to approval. Valentine Green, the mezzotinto engraver, published in 1792 a quarto volume called "Acta Historica Reginarum Angliæ," consisting of illustrations, both in letter-press and plates, of twelve large prints from drawings by J. G. Huck, representing historical events in which Queens of England had been actively concerned. One of these compositions exhibited "Elizabeth, Queen Dowager of Edward IV., delivering up her son Richard Duke of York to Cardinal Bourchier, A.D. 1483; and in this the Princesses Elizabeth, Cecily, and Anne, were introduced attending their mother. Plate vi. of Green's volume contains the heads of the principal characters represented in the large print; and the descriptive text states that the portraits of the three Princesses were taken from the Little Malvern window, a drawing from which was in the writer's possession. The design of reproducing the outward lineaments of the actors in English history from authentic monuments certainly deserves all praise; but unhappily the execution of that design is in the present instance so defective, as altogether to destroy its value, and even convert it into a source of error.² Not merely do the features of the young ladies in the plate present no resemblance to those in the window, but even their head-dresses are neither of Edward V.'s nor of any other historical period. The only explanation of this strange misuse of really well-selected materials seems to be deducible from the following sentence in the introduction to the book³:—"The costume of the different periods of our history has been attended to sufficiently to satisfy the antiquarian, *without disgusting the artist*; but wherever the balance has been suffered to preponderate in adjusting these matters, it has mostly been *on the side of the modern graces!*"

A few words of commemoration are due to the pious restorer of the Church at Little Malvern, and donor of the East window. In Bentham's "History of the Cathedral of Ely" is a short biographical notice of John Alcock, as one of the bishops of that see.⁴ His earlier career, like that of so many other eminent mediæval prelates, was divided between

² In the useful and interesting work already cited, the Lives of the Princesses of England, the authoress, who had probably never seen the Little Malvern window, appears to rely on Green's

Plate for her observations on the features of Anne Duchess of Norfolk. Vol. iv. p. 12.

³ Acta Historica, p. 12.

⁴ Second edition, p. 161-3.

diplomacy, law, politics, and divinity. After holding various offices, civil and ecclesiastical, he was created in 1472 Bishop of Rochester and Keeper of the Great Seal, and in 1475 Lord Chancellor. In 1476 he was translated to Worcester, and in the latter part of Edward IV.'s reign was Preceptor to the Prince of Wales, a post which he occupied when he dedicated the window containing his pupil's portrait. In March, 1486, Henry VII. re-appointed him Lord Chancellor; but he soon after resigned the Seals, and was translated in the same year to the Bishopric of Ely. Having discovered great irregularities in the Nunnery of St. Radegund at Cambridge, he procured a patent for its dissolution in 1497, and founded Jesus College in its place. Distinguished as an architect no less than as a scholar, he was appointed Comptroller of Works and Buildings under Henry VII., and both from official revenues, and his own private munificence, erected various edifices, but chiefly in connection with his diocese. He died in 1500, and was buried in the sumptuous chapel he had constructed for himself at the east end of the north aisle of Ely Cathedral, where his monument, though much defaced, may still be seen. Whether for the extent of his acquirements, the singular sanctity of his character, or the activity and usefulness of his public life, he was apparently one of the most remarkable men of his age. A full-length portrait of him, belonging to Jesus College, Cambridge, may now be seen in the National Portrait Exhibition. He is there represented kneeling, in full pontificals, with an open book before him, and a scroll piously inscribed—"Omnia mea tua sunt."

It is now more than twenty years since an appeal from the late Incumbent of Little Malvern fortunately called the attention of the Honorary Secretary of the Institute both to the value and the ruinous condition of the church-window.⁶ Having obtained the permission of the parish authorities, Mr. Way with his own hands took down the glass in the two lights here described (a work of no small difficulty from the decay of the leading), and having first made a cartoon on the spot, to fix the positions of the shattered fragments, he conveyed the whole to London. Mr. Winston, being then called in, made the admirable drawings which have supplied

⁶ See Mr. Dean's letter to the Institute referred to in a preceding note.

the foundation of the present notice, and superintended the releading and repair of the glass by the late Messrs. Ward and Nixon, of Frith Street, Soho. In this latter operation no lost portion was allowed to be restored, except a few mere completions of pattern-work in the accessories; those parts of the design to which no clue remained were filled up with unpainted glass. For these well-timed and discriminating repairs, as well as for the subsequent replacement of the two lights in their ancient site, archæologists will learn with pleasure that they are indebted to the liberality of Mr. Way.

Original Documents.

EXTRACTS FROM ORIGINAL RECORDS RELATING TO THE BURNING OF LEPERS IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.

IN the latter part of last year Mr. Burt was so kind as to call my attention to a detached roll, found among other articles of various dates relating to the Channel Islands, and deposited among the records of the Court of Exchequer. The membrane has no date, but is apparently in handwriting used in the reign of the first or second Edward, and it purports to be a finding of the jurats of the parish of St. Brelard, in Jersey, of certain forfeitures, fines, and casual revenue of the Crown. One of the entries runs as follows :—

“ Jurati dicunt [*illegible*] leprosus combustus fuit propter [*illegible*] et per confessionem suam. Et habebat dictus leprosus in bonis mobilibus ad valorem de xvi. lib. turon. unde Drogo de Sancto Heller[io] respondebit.

“ Petrus Turgis leprosus combustus fuit similiter sed nulla bona habebat.”

The entries suggest the inquiry whether leprosy, *per se*, was treated as a capital crime in Jersey in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and under what law? How did this record find its way into the English Exchequer at a time when the superior courts of England had no more direct jurisdiction than they now have in matters of Crown law pertaining to those dismembered portions of the Duchy of Normandy?

A subsequent search among the early Placita rolls brought to light the explanation of this document.

It is matter of history that, in the reign of Edward II., complaints were made to the King in Parliament of the proceedings of his officers and others in those islands, and great dissatisfaction appears to have prevailed in them; and that the King thereupon commissioned English Justices Itinerant to visit them, armed with the usual powers of such justices as existing in the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II. These proceedings are extant on record in the office of appropriate deposit for such records in case of like commissions executed within the realm, and they are referred to in the Parliament rolls of the same reign—1 Rot. Parl., pp. 378, 379, and 464. One of the bundles of proceedings of the Justices in Eyre in Jersey, dated 19th October, 17th Edward II. (A.D. 1323), contains, among the pleas of the crown, under the head of “ Indictamenta et presentationes,” the following entries :—

“ St. Broelard” . . . Rob. Patier, leprosus, reatus de seditione facta

ad homines appoisonand' quod cogn[ovit]. Per quod combustus fuit, etc. catalla ejus xvi. lib. tiron. unde Drogo de Sancto Elerio resp.

"Petrus Tourgis leprosus pro eod' combustus, etc. Nulla sunt catalla, etc."

It appears, therefore, that the execution of these lepers by burning was for an offence, equivalent to high treason, at that time generally imputed to them throughout France and its dependent Great Fiefs, and on which the contemporary annalists afford abundant information. The annalist of St. Evroul, anno 1321, tells us that—"Leprosi fuerunt combusti ferè per totum regnum Franciæ propter potiones quas composuerant pro interfectione universi populi, et plures ipsorum aterminati."¹ These annals are appended to the late edition of Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia*, vol. v. pp. 169, 170. Paris, 1855.

The official evidence is among the printed "Ordonnances" of the Kings of France, in the reigns of Philip V. and his successor, vol. i. p. 814 (anno 1321); vol. ii. p. 481 (eod' anno); and in Isambert's *Réueil des Anciennes Lois Franc.*, vol. iii. pp. 285, 287. The recital in these ordinances shows an earlier one of the date of 1320, which has not been printed, if indeed it be now extant.

Some of the annalists, as William de Nangis and the Chronicle of St. Denys, enter with some detail into the facts of this notable conspiracy. It was believed that the Mahometan powers in Spain, anxious to prevent an impending crusade, had concerted with their Jewish subjects a scheme for the general extermination of Christianity. The Jews, being well aware of their own social position and unpopular character, found it inexpedient to take any immediate or ostensible part in the execution of this plan, and were supposed to have engaged the lepers, then numerous in European states, to effect their object. Absurd reports are handed down to us of general councils, or deliberative assemblies, of lepers, attended by deputations from all the "Ladrieres" of Europe, except those of England. They were told (as it is said) that poisons might be compounded for wells, fountains, and streames, which would either destroy those who drank the waters, or would make leprosy universal, and thus relieve the existing sufferers from the invidious and exclusive disgrace of this malady. A certain seigneur of Parthenay (Epernay?) is said to have written to the King, to inform him that little satchels of mysterious mixtures had been found on accused persons, of which he described the contents and had tested the poisonous nature. It is not easy to recognise anything of a very poisonous description in the specified ingredients, which chiefly consisted of bits and scraps of the limbs of the smaller reptiles, of human hair, blood, and other excretions, forming a mixture of the same sort as the contents of the witches' cauldron in Macbeth.

As in the case of witch-prosecutions nearer home, the confessions of the criminals seem to have been not uncommon; but by what means those confessions were obtained, or by whom they were proved on the trials, or whether leprosy alone was confessed, we are not informed.

The above Ordinances of the French kings purport to authorise, or,

¹ The last word is queried by the French editor. The word is a forensic

term implying an adjournment, or day to appear; i.e., a prosecution.

ex post facto, to ratify, the prosecution of the alleged offence in the seigneurie, and other local courts of the kingdom, as for high treason (*læsa majestas*), and the punishment by fire is enjoined. It is true that no new laws promulgated by Philip of France could have had any legal operation, as such, in islands that had long ceased to be part of French Normandy; but the adoption of them in those islands would not be wholly at variance with the later usages of the local courts there.

Neither Jersey nor Guernsey has ever possessed any well-defined system, or even authoritative text-book, of crown law. The old Customal of Normandy relates almost entirely to the feudal customs and civil procedure of the courts, and even in such matters the copies in current use at this day are interspersed with the edicts or later ordinances, of kings who had ceased to rule in the Channel Islands.

Those who are curious to learn the present state of criminal jurisprudence in them, and the practice of the island judges of referring sometimes to English, and sometimes to French law, may gratify that curiosity by reading the evidence attached to the valuable Reports of Mr. Ellis and Mr. Bros, presented to the Queen in 1847 and 1848.

Whether the deliberate selection of our King John as their preferable sovereign was a proof of the sagacity or taste of the inhabitants, may be an open question; but at all events our worthy fellow-subjects of that little groupe of isles have never failed to assert, and to secure for themselves, a very unusual share of whimsical autonomy not altogether satisfactory, at least to their Anglican creditors.

In the case before us, it is probable that the contemporaneous law of French Normandy would pretty correctly represent the law in force before the separation; and the Justices, who were sent to administer justice in the King's name in Jersey and Guernsey by Edward II., might be justified in considering that, in burning lepers, they were executing the ancient laws and customs of the islanders in conformity with the terms of their commission. It is certain that, in the trials before them, the peculiar local customs as to process and punishment, such as the "*clameur de haro*," the parochial system of presentments, and the alternative offered to the prisoner, in cases of common assault, &c., of voluntary exile, were strictly adhered to. I do not know that punishment by burning in case of capital crimes has, even yet, been formally abrogated, though the "*Jurés Justiciers*" will hardly be advised, or disposed, to revive it.

The King's Justices returned to the officers of the crown the record of their proceedings, and the extracts, or escheats, of the fines and forfeitures accruing to the Crown. Hence the preservation of these documents among the ordinary records of the Crown in the English Exchequer.

The above extracts from the *Iter Rolls* are not the only entries in them that relate to leprosy.

The designation of "*leprosus*" appended to the names of parties, prosecutors, or prisoners, is not uncommon in the pleadings, even in ordinary cases where the disease had no connection with the subject of inquiry. Thus I find the following notices of indictments in the Guernsey *Rolls* of the same *Iter*. :—

"Symon de Monte indictatus est quia furaverat capam Ricardi Hoel, leprosi."

A more singular one is among the *Placita Coronæ* ("placita spadæ," as they are sometimes called), in Jersey, in 20 Edward I. :—

"Durandus del Auna, leprosus, indictatur per inquisitionem quod fregit hostium et fenestram domus Roberti Fanegot et in ipsum insultum fecit de nocte, et ipsum ad terram cabliavit: venit et hoc dedicere non potuit. et ipse in misericordia de qua satisfac[ia]t vel insulam exeat.

"Idem Durandus extraxit cultellum suum super Radulphum Lemere, et fecit ipsum clam[are] har[o], et hoc dedicere non potuit. ideo ipse in misericordia. In for[is]factura quā prius.

* * * * *

"Robertus Fanegot et conjux ejus et filiastr' eorum indictati per inquis[itionem] leprosorū, quod ipsi verberaverunt Durandum del Aune veniunt et hoc dedicere non potuerunt.

"Ideo ipsi in misericordia. Sed tamen quia idem Durandus communis malefactor est et contumeliosus perdonatur ei misericordia per Justic[iarios]."

In these entries of indictments and convictions we find "leprosus" used by way of mere "addition" (as the lawyers call it) to the name, in the same way in which a modern indictment styles the defendant "labourer," "yeoman," "shoemaker," &c., in order to identify the party named. But no clerk of indictments at this day would think of using an accidental or personal peculiarity for that purpose, such as "rogue," "heretic," or "cripple." This mode of designating a complainant or a defendant as a "leper" shows how the prevalence of this malady, and the various sanitary and civil regulations or usages in connection with the sufferers, had made them a sort of distinct class of society, having a social position similar (as Dr. Roek has reminded me) to that once occupied by the Lazari, or Lazaroni of South Italy, who are supposed to have originally derived their name from the same disorder.

The indictment of Fanegot and his family for the assault on Durandus, the leper, purports to have originated in an *inquest of lepers*. I can find nothing to explain this strange expression. It seems incredible that any inquest of sworn lepers can have existed as a regular process in Guernsey, and I am inclined to think that the language of the record imports only that an inquest had been sworn touching offences of, or upon, lepers. There is contemporaneous authority for the use of the word "leprosus" as applied to one who had the care or superintendence of lepers. (Ducange Gloss. voc. "Leprosi.") It is, however, possible that further examination of the Rolls might throw some light on the expression.

I am tempted to add a few remarks on the social and legal status of leprous patients at the date of the above record, but I will confine them within narrow limits.

Among the valuable publications now in progress under the direction of Lord Romilly, there is one lately issued, under the care of a very able and competent editor, called "*Monumenta Franciscana*." I cannot subscribe, without some qualification, to the general view, taken by the editor in his preface, of the state of those who were labouring under this malady at the period to which he refers. Mr. Brewer seems to think that leprosy had been made "penal" in itself; that the leper was "deprived

of all civil rights ;" that restoration to health was regarded as impossible, &c. ; and he refers to Mr. Hardy's excellent preface to the Close Rolls, and to the regulations of some English Lazar-houses.

This statement appears to me far too strong as regards either England or France. The language of some of our earliest text-books, such as Bracton, Briton, and the anonymous author of Fleta, may seem to lend some countenance to this estimate of the legal disabilities of those who were afflicted with leprosy ; but I think that a more careful examination of the actual practice, as recorded in the Placita Rolls of the thirteenth century, and of the Formularies of the same date which are extant in the Register of Writs and elsewhere, will tend to qualify the language of those venerable volumes, especially when we read them by the light of the contemporaneous early Customals of neighbouring continental states, and of the provisions of the Church and its teachings, which had so marked an influence in the middle ages.

We know that under the name of leprosy a large class of cutaneous disorders must have been included. The old commentator on the writ "*de Leproso amovendo*," says truly, "*mes sont divers maneres des lepres*." The writ itself prescribes as much care and caution in the inquiries made under it as, in those days, could conveniently have been exercised. The powers under it were confined to cases where the disease was rendered visible and notorious by those external symptoms of ulceration and putrescence which were then regarded as decisive of its infectious character, and where the patient had refused to confine himself to his own house, and persisted in frequenting public places. The object was, I apprehend, to limit the writ to cases of real elephantiasis. Under such circumstances the inquisition was a matter of police as in other cases of public danger. The disabilities referred to by Bracton apply only to persons "*extra communionem gentium positi*," or (as the Customal of Normandy calls them), "*jugés et séparés pour maladie de lepre*," and who were then regarded as so far secluded from the ordinary transactions and business of life, as the interests of third parties, as well as their own, rendered necessary or prudent. There was no forfeiture of property, but rather a sequestration of it. The Customal of Hainault² is, perhaps, one of the most stringent and remarkable to be found. A sort of funeral service was performed on the leper's seclusion ; a heriot, or "best beast" was paid to his lord, and he became dead in law, as a monk after profession, but subject to restoration to ordinary civil rights in the event of a cure. Customs of the same character are also to be found in the early history of Bretagne. The exclusion from personal appearance in the conduct or defence of suits looks like a privilege rather than a penalty, for our ancient common law obliged all suitors to appear in person, unless they obtained special leave of the Court to make an attorney ; and this is the construction which Lord Coke has put on some of the passages in the old text-books, which all seem to be copied from Bracton (Coke's 1 Institute, p. 8).

In the curious case cited from the Year Book of 30 Edward by Mr. Horwood, in his interesting volumes lately published, the Judge got over the objection (taken probably *ore tenus* before him), by sending an officer into the outer assize hall to take from an alleged leper his appointment of an attorney to look after his interests in court.

² See Merlin's Repertoire, &c. ; also Ducange, *loc. cit.* "*Leprosi*."

Nor were the interests of this community or class overlooked in other respects. The statutes for taxes on moveables imposed by Parliament, have always expressly exempted (with some exceptions) the goods of lepers shut up in the *Ladrerics* of the realm, as the Statute Rolls inform us. In short, whatever may be the probability, in all human experience, of the abuse of such regulations to the purposes of private or public wrong, and whatever may have been the prejudices which fear or disgust may have inspired against these sufferers, I see no ground for imputing to our ancestors any such conspiracy against their lives, liberty, or property, as some have imagined; and the magnificent establishments founded all over the country for the care, if not for the cure, of "measled" subjects, would rather point to a different conclusion. It is said that there were two thousand *Léproseries* in France alone in the reign of Louis VIII., and that the objects of these establishments, the "*les ladres, devinrent plus dignes d'envie que de pitié.*"—[*Dictionnaire Historique des Mœurs, Usages, et Coutumes des François.* Paris, 1767. Tit. *Léproserie.*] Perhaps the cupidity of the seigneurs may have co-operated with the prejudices of the people in producing the frightful excesses in France to which I have already adverted.

I have omitted to notice here the Welsh laws on leprosy, as contained in the Venedotian, Dimetian, and Gwentian codes, and, generally, in the *Leges Wallicæ* printed by the Record Commissioners in 1841. These odious provisions, if indeed they ever were in operation in that country, would justify any amount of reprobation. They are too barbarous and absurd to be worth notice, at least as fair specimens of contemporary legislation. I only mention them here as supplying an instance of the payment of a heriot by lepers, "*cum seculum dimittunt,*" i. e., when they retired from the world, as in the Hainault Customal already noticed. (See *Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i. pp. 85, 521, 749; vol. ii. p. 797.)

EDWARD SMIRKE.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

JULY 7, 1865.

The MARQUIS CAMDEN, K.G., President, in the Chair.

THIS, being the concluding meeting of the Session, was numerously attended; announcements were made by Mr. Charles Tucker regarding the final arrangements for the approaching congress at Dorchester; he stated that the liberal promise of supplies for the Local Museum had exceeded expectation, and that, through the courtesy of the authorities, a spacious place of exhibition had been provided, worthy of the archæological wealth of Dorset.

The recently published Map of Ancient Dorsetshire, indicating its vestiges, Celtic, Roman, Saxon and Danish, by Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A., was presented by the Author, with the kind intention of aiding the researches of archæological visitors on their approaching gathering in the county, the earlier antiquities of which have, during many years of laborious investigation, presented to Mr. Warne a field of unequalled interest. The results of his extensive excavations, with a full account and illustrations of the remarkable sepulchral deposits that he has brought to light, will, it is hoped, be speedily published in his "Antiquities of Dorset."¹

Mr. J. J. ROGERS, M.P., communicated the following particulars regarding a discovery of Roman coins in Cornwall. During the previous month a considerable hoard was brought to light near Falmouth Bay; and, although discoveries of this nature have occurred in Western Cornwall to a greater extent, possibly, than in many parts of the country where Roman Stations or vestiges of occupation are found, it is desirable to place on record any fresh evidence of the presence of the Romans in the great western emporium of the mineral wealth of Britain. Borlase, Lysons, and other writers on the antiquities of the country have enumerated finds of Roman coins, chiefly in its western parts. The first discovery on record is probably that of a "brass pot full of Roman money" mentioned by Leland as found at "Tredine," which may be Treryn near the Land's End. Silver coins have been comparatively rare; in 1702, however, an urn was brought to light in a cist formed of stones set edgewise, and containing eighty denarii of Valentinian, Gratian, Arcadius and other emperors, in

¹ Mr. Warne's Illustrated Map of Ancient Dorset is accompanied by an Index, in which classified lists are given of the numerous early remains in the county. It has been published in London by Mr. Sydenham, Tottenham Court

Road, to whom subscribers to Mr. Warne's long-promised "Antiquities" should address their names. That work will form two vols. 4to, with numerous illustrations.

good condition. Amongst many finds near Falmouth several have been mentioned that have occurred on the shores of Helford Haven, especially one at Condorah, in 1735, when not less than 24 gallons of coins of Constantine were disinterred. Borlase mentions also a hoard found, in 1747, on a branch of Falmouth harbour, consisting of brass coins weighing not less than 20 pounds; of these 3000 were examined by him; they ranged from Gallienus, A.D. 260, to Carinus, A.D. 282. Occasionally coins have occurred in those parts in ancient tin-workings, an instance being supplied by the discovery of an *aureus* of Valentinian, A.D. 364; Roman coins have also been noticed in barrows near Penzance. These are, however, only a few of the more remarkable relics of Roman times in West Cornwall; the coins have mostly occurred in large quantities, sometimes in urns, or in small roughly fashioned cists formed of slabs of stone; they have been almost exclusively of the later emperors, namely of those who ruled in the third and fourth centuries, and the hoards have been chiefly found near the shore or the margins of tidal estuaries. The peculiar circumstances that may have caused so many deposits of money, in unusual quantities, in a district where traces of permanent occupation in Roman times are comparatively rare, well deserve consideration. Some of those vestiges have been brought before the Institute from time to time by Mr. Rogers, to whom we are indebted, and also to Mr. R. W. Fox, of Penjerick, near Falmouth, for the following particulars regarding the recent discovery. The coins, mostly second and third brass, and more than 900 in number, were found in ploughing near the shore, rather more than a mile to the south of Falmouth, at a spot about 400 yards west of Pennance Point, and near a small farm called "Bone's Cottage." Mr. Fox describes the field, which is the property of his grandson, as a steep piece of land that has probably not been often ploughed. It was brought under cultivation this year, and a few coins were turned up; on further search about 950 pieces were found at a depth of about 12 to 18 inches, coated with clay that adhered closely, and only a portion had been cleaned when Mr. Fox made known the find to Mr. Rogers. It was stated that a black substance like decayed skin or leather was noticed near the coins; the laborer by whom they were brought to light observed also that they seemed to have been placed in rows, arranged side by side, four rows in breadth,² sloping upwards on the hill-side; they had possibly been deposited in a leather case or wooden box, the crumbling remains of which were lost amongst the surrounding earth. All the pieces seemed new, as if they had not been in circulation, and the notion has been suggested that the deposit may have been that of a military chest concealed near the shore. The coins were taken into the custody of the police, doubtless as "treasure trove," but they have been restored to Mr. Fox, who noticed a considerable number of second brass of Diocletian, Maximian and Constantine, with a small number of third brass coins. There are many varieties of the coins of Constantine. He mentioned a coin of Probus, or possibly Gallienus, in very perfect state; reverse a centaur. The deposit

² A remarkable instance of a deposit of small Roman coins in *rouleaux*, as it appeared, occurred in 1855 near Storrington, Sussex. They had been placed in rows in the margin of a small dipping

well, as related in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 140; Sussex Archæol. Coll., vol. viii. p. 277. More than 1800 coins were found, ranging from Claudius Gothicus to Constantine.

was made, as supposed, early in the fourth century. Mr. Fox expressed the wish that some of the coins should be preserved in the Polytechnic Hall at Falmouth, as possessing local interest, although possibly not rare, or of any great numismatic value. It is his intention to place a granite pillar in the field to mark the spot where the discovery was made.

Mr. J. YNYR BURGESS sent a few remarks on Roman vestiges, found during excavations for the main drainage works through the lower part of the parish of East Ham, Essex. The leaden coffins, with a sarcophagus of stone, there disinterred on the high ground abutting on the marshes, have been noticed in the last volume of this Journal, p. 94. Cinerary urns with other Roman *fecilia* were found near the coffins, showing, as Mr. Burgess remarked, that the spot had been used as a place of sepulture by the force stationed probably at Uphall Camp, whilst the adjacent land was in course of reclamation from the river by captive Britons, possibly, after the defeat of Boadicea, A.D. 61. It is certain that part of this land lying in East Ham Marshes was given by Offa to the Monastery of Westminster; Mr. Ynyr Burgess pointed out that the Anglo-Saxons could scarcely have had the ability to carry out so gigantic an operation as the drainage of the marsh, and we may reasonably conclude that the undertaking had been achieved by the Romans, who were, as he observed, skilled alike in the arts of peace as in those of war.

Mr. J. E. LEE, F.S.A., communicated an account of an unusual type of piled dwelling lately described in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich by their President, Dr. Keller, and presenting a very important addition to the facts relating to the lake habitations in Switzerland to which attention was first called by that eminent archæologist. An illustrated translation from the German text of the whole of Dr. Keller's memoirs on the Pfahlbauten, and on the relics found in profusion on the shores of almost every lake in that country, will shortly be published by Mr. Lee. No notice of the peculiar construction to which his observations on the present occasion related had been brought before English archæologists. He offered some general remarks on the varieties of the substructure of the lacustrine dwellings, as classified by Dr. Keller, namely those raised upon piles, which occur in considerable number in the lakes of Switzerland and Northern Italy, the Fascine-dwellings, and the Crannoges, mostly formed on small natural islands, but frequently strengthened or enclosed by piles or boarding; such ancient habitations occur in Ireland and in Scotland. The remarkable fascine-dwelling that Mr. Lee described was found in draining a peat-moss, formerly a small lake called Egelsee, at Niederwyl near Winterthur to the north of Zürich; the habitation had been formed, about 100 ft. from the original shore, on successive layers of faggots or fascines built up from the bottom of the lake, the depth of which appeared to have been about 14 ft. The work was braced with vertical and transverse timbers, and doubtless served to support a platform on which huts were constructed. The fascines present the appearance of rude basket-work, or hurdles laid alternately in different directions, gravel being strewed between the layers to give greater solidity. This fascine-structure afforded various relics, such as stone implements, broken pottery, barley, platted and woven linen cloth. Many curious questions are suggested by Dr. Keller's observations on the fascine-construction and its antiquity as compared with the more usual type; the subject has been ably treated in his last Report, and will be given in the forthcoming trans-

lation of his memoirs, by Mr. Lee, accompanied also by the numerous illustrations prepared under Dr. Keller's immediate direction. To English archaeologists, those especially who may not be familiar with the German text, this full reproduction of a subject of such essential interest cannot fail to prove highly acceptable, and may, it is hoped, lead to a more careful examination of such analogous remains as are to be found in the British Islands.

Mr. SMIRKE read a notice of two golden lunettes or gorgets of gold found near Padstow, and brought for exhibition by gracious permission of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, to whom this precious treasure-trove appertained as Duke of Cornwall. Mr. Smirke's observations are printed in this volume, p. 275.

A memoir was then read by a Danish archaeologist, Mr. CHARLES GOSCH, *attaché* to the Danish embassy in London, relating to recent discoveries, especially in Sleswick, and to the more complete classification of the vestiges of the earliest periods, by Professor Worsaae, as suggested by the "kitchen-middings" and various peculiar remains in Jutland and other parts of Denmark. The late remarkable discoveries in the peat-mosses of Sleswick belong to the age of iron, a metal which seems to have become known in Scandinavia through some sudden conquest; its use cannot be traced in Denmark to a period earlier than two centuries after the Christian era. Mr. Gosch offered some observations on the early ethnology of his country; on the precious collection also formed at Flensburg, and carefully removed to a place of safety at the beginning of the late war. On the cession of the province the invaders insisted that the antiquities, which had been collected at the cost of the Danish Government in the time of Frederick VII., should be rendered up for transport to Berlin.

Mr. CHARLES NEWTON delivered a discourse on a recent visit to the scene of his former explorations and discoveries in Asia Minor. In the month of May last he rode from Ephesus to Budrum. He commenced his narrative by briefly noticing the railway from Smyrna to Ephesus, and he described in general terms the character of the site of the last-named city, where an immense deposit of alluvial soil has filled up the ancient ports and made it very difficult to identify the principal edifices. Mr. Wood, a Civil Engineer, is engaged here in excavations in the Odeum on account of the British Museum, and he has found a statue of Commodus inscribed with the name of that emperor on the base, and three letters from Antoninus Pius to the people of Ephesus. Mr. Newton thence proceeded along the unfinished railway works to a mountain-pass between Samsun Dag and Gumisch Dag, on the summit of which he overlooked the great plain of the Mæander. This plain has been formed in historical times by alluvial deposit which has gradually filled up the Gulf of Latmus, so that Priene, Myus and Heraclea, which were once seaport towns, are now far inland. This filling up of the gulf had commenced in Strabo's time when Priene was distant five miles from the sea, and in the second century before the Christian era Pausanias tells us how Myus had been abandoned by its inhabitants on account of the marshes which formed around it. At the end of the first day's journey Mr. Newton slept at Soköi, a Turkish village overlooking the plain of the Mæander, where he was hospitably received by Mr. Clarke, an English merchant engaged in the manufacture of liquorice, who has resided in that remote Turkish village for sixteen years, and who gave some interesting information regarding the development of agriculture in Asia Minor since

the repeal of the English corn laws has encouraged exportation. From Soköi Mr. Newton rode along the northern side of the Mæander to Miletus, where he crossed the river by a ferry, sleeping on the second night at Akköi. Briefly noticing the beautiful Ionic temple at Priene, the present remains of Miletus, and its ancient historical importance, and also the interesting discoveries of statues made in 1857 on the Sacred Way at Branchidæ, Mr. Newton proceeded to describe his third day's journey, in which, after skirting a salt lake, the remnant of the Gulf of Latmus, he reached Baffi near Heraclea. This town is situated at the foot of Latmus, the mountain on which Diana is said to have visited Endymion, now called Besch Parmak. It commands a steep mountain pass leading to Mendelet, and it must have been its importance as a military position which led Mausolus to seize it. Ascending this mountain pass Mr. Newton arrived at Mendelet, near the ancient Euronus. This pass has a bad reputation for robbers. Mr. Newton here made some remarks on the risks in travelling in Asia Minor, and showed a portraiture of a celebrated chief of a band of brigands who has recently surrendered himself to the authorities at Smyrna. On the fourth day Mr. Newton rode through the marshes of Sari Tchai, leaving on his left Mylasa, the ancient capital of the kings of Caria abandoned by Mausolus for Halicarnassus, and Labranda, a temple on a high mountain dedicated to the Carian Jupiter, which to that nation served as a place of meeting analogous to the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris on Monte Cavo, the gathering place of the Latin tribes. Passing by Tekrembari, which is probably Passala, the ancient port of Mylasa, but now an inland village surrounded by the marshes at the mouth of the Sari Tchai, Mr. Newton reached his fourth halting-place, Tepeköi, a village in the mountains about an hour east of Guverdjilik. Here is an Hellenic fortress which has never been noticed by travellers, and the remains of an ancient way which probably was the main road from Halicarnassus to Mylasa. On the morning of the fifth day after leaving Ephesus Mr. Newton arrived at Budrum. His object in going there was to inspect the excavations now being carried on there on the portion of the site of the Mausoleum, which he was obliged to leave unexplored in 1859 in consequence of the refusal of the owners to part with the houses built on this ground. Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann have recently succeeded in purchasing these houses on account of the British Museum; they have demolished the whole and have nearly completed the exploration of the site of the Mausoleum. In the course of the excavations up to the end of May they had found several fragments of the colossal horses from the chariot group, parts of several draped statues, heads of colossal size much mutilated, and a number of portions of the frieze among which were two figures, one a Greek, the other an Amazon, of great beauty. They have also found several inscriptions, one of which is a dedication to the Good Fortune, — ἀγαθὴ τύχη — of Ptolemy Soter, and to the god Serapis. This dedication is made by Arsinoë, who, it is to be presumed, is the Queen of Ptolemy Philadelphus. During Mr. Newton's previous excavations at Budrum two inscriptions were discovered relating to a portico dedicated to King Ptolemy and Apollo. It is probable the Ptolemy thus associated with Apollo was either Soter or Philadelphus. The other inscription recently found was a dedication by the ἀγορεύοντες or clerks of the market to Aphrodite. This was discovered in a house in the southern part of the Peribolos of the Mausoleum overlooking the precise spot where Vitruvius places the Agora, and thus affords an interesting con-

firmation of that author's description of the topography of Halicarnassus. Mr. Newton concluded his discourse by expressing the hope that some of the numerous fragments recently found on the site of the Mausoleum may be identified as belonging to sculptures from the same building which the British Museum already possesses. He gave some remarkable instances where fragments both of the Parthenon and the Mausoleum had been identified and readjusted after lying apart for centuries.

Mr. C. SPRENGEL GREAVES, Q.C., stated that, since the last meeting, he had received intelligence from Mr. Frank Calvert of extensive excavations at Ilium Novum, and also of the discovery of ruins as supposed, of a Temple of Minerva, consisting of marble columns, architraves, and portions of bas-reliefs, one of them being part of the figure of a gladiator.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir. S.A.—Four gold rings of the "penannular" type, found in the Province of Cauca, New Granada. These relics from South America bear considerable resemblance to certain gold ornaments of the same class found in our own country.

By Mr. PURNELL.—A fragment of glass much worn by attrition, possibly by sea-sand, and supposed by the learned writer on Glyptic Art, Mr. King, to be of ancient British date. Its form has been so changed that the original fashion of the relic cannot be ascertained; it may have been merely a lump of raw material, prepared for the manufacture of beads; it is crystalline, containing pisiform portions of opaque paste in regular strata, red and white, as seen in beads found with early British remains. It was found at Tenby, in South Wales.

By Mr. E. RICHARDSON.—Specimens of Roman pottery found in large quantities in the "Home Close," near a Roman entrenchment at Bourne, Lincolnshire. These remains, brought to light during the formation of an embankment for the Bourne and Spalding Railway, have been supposed to indicate the site of Roman Pottery works. The clay is of excellent quality. A singular ewer or bottle of red glazed ware was found, in form of an animal with short diminutive feet and a handle extending over the back from the neck to the tail. The Cardyke runs at the east end of Bourne; interments and ancient remains have been noticed near the spot where the *fictilia* lay; also coins of Constantine and other emperors, with portions of tessellated floors.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Two Hebrew MSS. of portions of Holy Writ; their date has been assigned to the close of the twelfth century.

By PROFESSOR WESTWOOD.—A drawing of a sculptured cross, of which the fragments were found in 1838 in demolishing the ancient parish church of Leeds; they had been built into the walls of the belfry and clerestory as materials. The height when the portions were reunited was about 10 feet, the shaft is surmounted by a Greek cross ornamented with ribband-work and elaborate decoration of the same character intermixed with richly foliated designs, figures of saints, and other sculptures was to be seen of each of the faces of the shaft. Professor Westwood attributes this interesting relic to the ninth or early part of the tenth century. A representation of this cross has been given by Mr. Wardell, in his *Memorials of the Antiquities of Leeds*, and also in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xlii. N. S. p. 45.

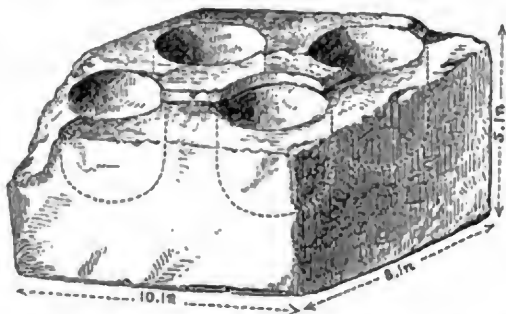
The sculptured fragments were removed to London, and exist at the present time in private possession in the south of England. Professor Westwood expressed great regret that a relic of so much local interest should not have been preserved in its proper place near the site of the first place of Christian worship at Leeds.

By Mr. OLDFIELD, F.S.A.—An octagonal casket with pyramidal cover, in all about 15 inches high. The frame-work is of wood, each of the exterior faces being adorned with a bas-relief carved in bone and enclosed within a border of marqueterie. Each bas-relief is formed of three upright pieces of bone, placed side by side, of which the surfaces exhibit the convex shape of the bone; at the sides of the bas-relief are two twisted columns supporting an Italian Gothic arch with tracery of open work in the spandrels above. This arch is carved in a separate piece of bone, which is fixed across the whole subject and encloses it under a canopy. The bas-reliefs represent eight scenes from the life of Paris, of which the first shows him as an infant swaddled in the manner still prevalent in Italy, and borne by the hand-maidens of Hecuba; the next represents his delivery to a herdsman for exposure; the third his presentation by the herdsman to his wife; the fourth, fifth, and sixth his education and charge of cattle on Mount Ida; the seventh the judgment of the three goddesses; and the eighth the abduction of Helen. Why the story here terminates so abruptly can only be conjectured;—perhaps from the accidental incompleteness of the manuscript from whose illuminations the artist may have borrowed his designs,—the manuscript being probably an Italian romance or poem, for in the fourteenth century the Greek authors in their original form were practically unknown. On the cover are eight smaller bas-reliefs, one representing two figures bearing escutcheons, which probably were once colored with heraldic charges, and the other seven exhibiting allegorical figures of the Cardinal Virtues. Caskets of this kind, which were used by ladies for jewels or articles of the toilette (like the Greek *pyxides*), are found chiefly in the Venetian towns, where they are supposed to have been made. The style of design, however, both in figures and decorations, seems borrowed from Tuscany, and perhaps is a reminiscence of the school which Giotto founded at Padua in 1306. The arched canopies of this casket are indeed quite in the style of Or San Michele at Florence, which was finished by Orcagna in 1348. The figures, though wanting the classic contours which first appeared in the sculpture of the following century, have that peculiar grace and *naïveté* of movement, with that simplicity in the arrangement of drapery, which distinguish the best Gothic period; and the outline and mouldings of the casket, as well as the borders of marqueterie, have all the elegance of Giotto's school. On the eyes and lips of the figures are slight remains of color. The casket, though not in a perfect, is in a very genuine condition, having undergone no restoration. Some slight portions of the canopies and mouldings are broken away, but the bas-reliefs are all entire, and in their original positions. The lock is lost, but its place is seen inside, the key-hole being pierced through the first bas-relief in the series. The cover is attached simply by two pieces of wire fixed in its woodwork, looped with two corresponding wires fixed in the body of the casket.

By the Hon. ROBERT CORZON.—Two Helmets of the fifteenth century, one of them being a specimen of unusual interest; it had probably formed part of the equipment of the great Earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp,

appointed by Henry V. in 1422 guardian of his only son, Henry of Windsor; the Earl was Regent of France t. Hen. VI., and died in 1440. The original crest of wood, the head of the swan as seen in the helm under the head of the Earl's effigy in the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick, had been preserved with the remarkable helmet exhibited by Mr. Curzon, who had sought in vain to obtain possession of the crest, now in decayed, worm-eaten, condition.

By the Rev. FRANK NEWINGTON, through Mr. THOMAS BOND.—A drawing of a block of stone found lately in the south wall of a small chapel on the north side of the chancel of Wool church, Dorset. The stone, described by Mr. Bond as of coarse Purbeck marble, had been used as wall-material, and placed, it is believed, in an inverted position. The dimensions are 10 in. by 8 in., height 5 in.; on one face there are four cup-shaped cavities, each 3 in. in diameter and in depth; the surface of these cups is blackened, as if by unctuous matter burnt in them; it has been supposed that they may have been used as cressets or lamps. In the dormitory at Durham, there was a square stone at each end, wrought with twelve hollows for tallow, for lighting that chamber.³ We are, however, indebted to Canon



Rock for the suggestion that the cavities in the stone found at Wool were intended to hold the three *ampullæ* for the holy oils, and the vessel for the salt, used at baptism. The constitutions and ordinances give special instructions for custody of the oils: "Chrisma, oleum sanctum et infirmorum . . . sub fideli custodia, seris adhibitis, conserventur."⁴ For carrying out this precept Dr. Rock states that he has noticed several singular appliances in the walls of ancient English churches, and he is of opinion that the singular stone found at Wool may have been originally placed in some cavity or place of safe keeping for a like purpose.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—An ancient Mexican object worked out of green stone, mounted, probably in South America, to serve as a

³ Davies, *Rites and Ceremonies of Durham*, cited by Mr. Gordon Hills, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1866, p. 107, where notices of several stone candle-stands may be found.

⁴ *Constitutions of Walter Bishop of Durham*, 1252. See also those of Richard Bishop of Salisbury, 1217; *Spelman, Concil. vol. II.*, p. 142; and Canon Rock's

Church of Our Fathers, vol. IV. p. 69. Mr. Newington stated that another relic of interest is preserved in his church, namely an embroidery, with figures of the Apostles, supposed to have belonged to Bindon Abbey, from which also many stones used in the fabric may have been obtained.

weapon, familiarly called a "slung shot."—Tally-board, of the seventeenth century, obtained in Holland; it is of oak carved and gilded with decoration in color.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A.—A copy of the Sarum Missal, a MS. executed by an English scribe in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and of considerable interest on account of the rubrics and information that it supplies in regard to ritual details.

By Mr. LATHAM, through Mr. Hewitt.—Two-handed sword preserved at Newnham, Gloucestershire, and traditionally supposed to have been a gift from King John to the corporation at that place. This weapon measures 6 ft. in length, the blade 52 in., the cross-guard, 20½ in. On the blade appears an arched crown, a forge-mark that seems to be a rude representation of a crown surmounted by a cross, and the following inscription:—*JOHN MORSE BEING MAIER · THIS SORD DID REPAIR · 1594.* Rudder, the Gloucestershire historian, describes this sword, observing that Newnham "was an ancient borough, of which in the time of Edward I. the sheriff returned only five in the county,—Bristol, Gloucester, Berkeley, Dursley and Newnham, and it was governed by a Mayor and Burgesses. The sword of state given to them with their charter by King John, and still preserved to be shewn in testimony of their former greatness and better condition, is of steel finely polished and ornamented with curious workmanship." Rudder proceeds to remark regarding the ancient body corporate that "having lost their charter they still continue by prescriptive right to elect a mayor annually, on the Monday night after St. Hillary, but neither the mayor nor aldermen, of whom there are six, have any authority over the town, which is governed by two beams or constables."¹ The date of the sword seems, as Mr. Hewitt informs us, to be early in the reign of Henry VIII.; the grip and scabbard having probably been renovated by John Morse.

DORCHESTER MEETING.

August 1—8.

THE programme for the meeting, at the ancient *Durnovaria*, was most satisfactorily carried out, and the attendance was very good. Among others, there were present during the week, the Marquis Camden, K.G., President, the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury, the Hon. Lord Neaves, V.P. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Mrs. and Miss Neaves, Lord Enniskillen, Sir R. Kirby, Professor Buckman, Sir S. Glynne, Bart., F.S.A., General Shirley, Lady Smith, Mrs. Berthon Preston, Mr. J. Floyer, M.P., and Mrs. Floyer, Mr. R. B. Sheridan, M.P., Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., D.C.L., F.S.A., President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Ven. Archdeacon Huxtable, M.A., the Ven. Archdeacon Sanctuary, Sir J. Boileau, Bart., Sir T. Winnington, Bart., M.P., Octavius Morgan, M.P., General Lefroy, the Mayor of Dorchester (Dr. Ald-

¹ Rudder, *Hist. Glouc.*, p. 571. The date on the blade is there given incorrectly as 1584.

ridge), the Rev. W. Barnes, B.D., Camb., the Rev. C. W. Bingham, M.A., Col. Sturt, M.P., Mr. D. Laing, Mr. Wingfield Digby and Miss Digby, Mr. C. Tucker, Mr. J. H. Parker, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Rev. E. Venables, Mr. J. Burt, Rev. E. Hill, Rev. Dr. Jones, &c.

INAUGURAL MEETING.

August 1.

Lord NEAVES in the Chair.

This was held in the Town-hall at 3 p.m. Owing to delay on the part of the Great Western Railway, the Marquis Camden was not present at the opening, and the chair was in consequence taken by Lord Neaves.

The Mayor of Dorchester welcomed the Institute on the part of the Corporation, and was followed by the Bishop of Salisbury, who spoke in the name of the clergy and laity of his diocese. He believed the objects of the Society were such as to meet the cordial approbation of laity and clergy, who were both interested in the preservation of the records of the past. He did not wish to say they were desirous of reproducing the past; but, whilst endeavouring to forward the present interest, they did not forget what they owed to their predecessors, and what benefits they had gained from their experience. He could assure them he felt competent, in the name of the clergy and laity of the diocese, to convey to the Society a hearty expression of welcome.

In the midst of his Lordship's speech the noble President arrived, and took the chair.

Mr. Floyer, M.P., and Mr. R. B. Sheridan, M.P., also spoke; as did Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., who remarked that the noble Marquis and himself had had the pleasure of taking a trip upon the Great Western Railway, and they were landed at Dorchester only an hour too late. After many green fields, swelling hill-tops, moors, waving plantations of fir and oak, and deep emerald green meadows, they came to Dorchester. The first things that greeted them upon their entrance were avenues of majestic trees, such as they read of and met with in continental towns, and of which they seldom found examples near English towns; for boulevards seemed to be a sort of pleasure to obtain which they must endure the risks of sea-sickness. There was one circumstance that he could not but feel particularly struck by. When they entered the room, the Lord Bishop of Salisbury was speaking; and when he remembered what diocese they were in, and that fact, he could not but call to mind one of the most touching incidents that had occurred during the congresses of the Institute. Some years ago the annual meeting was held in the city of which the right rev. speaker was now the prelate, though at that time his honored predecessor (Bishop Denison) filled the throne, and he (Mr. Beresford Hope), with other members of the congress, had the happiness to be his lordship's guest. Few people knew at that time, when the Bishop of Sarum was working so eagerly, not only for the enjoyment of his company, but for the good of archæology, how early and late he was labouring with most devoted zeal among those who were suffering under the pestilence of cholera in that city. At this congress, in which the Bishop of Salisbury had a right to take his place, he could not but recall the connection there was between the see he filled and the Institute, through his predecessor.

Lord CAMDEN remarked that Mr. Beresford Hope having thanked them all in much better terms than he could, he would say but a few words to express his gratification in coming to what was to him a new part of the country. He felt deeply that they would all concur with him in regretting that the chair was not filled by the late lamented noble lord, who it was originally intended should preside, the late Earl of Ilchester. He was sure, as he said last year, in introducing Lord Leigh as President at Warwick, that they would have derived great benefit from having as their chairman one who was well acquainted with the county, and with the people dwelling in it. He could only assure them that he would do his best as their President, and he hoped that they would give him their kind indulgence.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM, of Bingham's Melcombe, then read the following introductory paper upon the Antiquities of the County.

Before he proceeded to the business which was put into his hands, he wished to express his cordial gratulations on seeing his Lordship and his other friends and brethren of the Institute here on this occasion. For many a year had it been the aspiration of his heart, as he knew it was of his lamented friend Lord Ilchester, that the Institute should hold a meeting in Dorset, the antiquities of which had been so little examined and so little understood. He therefore could not help saying these few words regarding his own feelings on the occasion, and he would proceed to give what he feared would be a very meagre sketch of the antiquities of the county. Whatever minor questions (Mr. Bingham said) may be raised respecting the etymology of the county name, there can be no doubt that the word *Dur*, or *Dour*, allied with the Greek *ἕωρ*, water, is the root and foundation from which it springs. This is found in the *Durnguais* of Asser, himself a Briton, the *Δουρδρυγες* of Ptolemy, the *Durnovaria* of Antoninus, the *Dorsætas*, or *Dorsætas* of the Saxon Chronicle, and still retained in the modern names of Dorsetshire, and Dorchester, its ancient capital town. Whether in their original home on the other side of the Channel, or after their transhipment to this, our ancestors, as we do, "dwelt by the wave;" and through all the invasions that have swept over our hills and valleys during the last 3000 years, we have retained this short and fragmentary description of their habits and locality. The last few years have done much to erase the more material relics of prehistoric times. It is now no longer the case, as in Horace's days, that the builder is the enemy to the plough, but that the plough makes havoc of everything in the shape of building; still there are few parts of England which can afford so sufficient a representation of primitive antiquity as the county of Dorset, and indicate so clearly what Britain must have been even before the occupation of the Romans. Within three miles of Dorchester we have one of those magnificent hill-forts—the *caerau* of the Britons—which, like the "Pah" of the New Zealander, was probably the stronghold of the tribe in seasons of aggression and warfare. There is every reason to suppose that this is the *Δούριον* of Ptolemy—Mægen-dun Castle, or the Castle of the Hill. On the neighbouring heights in all directions may be seen the tombs of "brave men who lived, perhaps, before Agamemnon," still enjoying the distinction which Hector promised to the champion who should oppose him—a tomb looking over the broad sea. I need not (Mr. Bingham observed) enter into any detailed description; it will be visited under the guidance, we hope, of those who are more competent to do justice to it. Suffice it to

say, that no grander specimen of these fortresses exists amongst us; though Hutchins reckons no less than some twenty-five in Dorsetshire. I have sometimes indulged the thought that the Durotriges might have been one of those two *validissimæ gentes*, which Vespasian subdued, together with the Isle of Wight, and that some of these hill-forts might have been included among the *oppida* which he is recorded to have carried. To specify a few of the more prominent: proceeding a few miles to the westward, we come to Eggardon, or Aggerdun, and to the eastward, just beyond Lulworth Castle, to Flower's Barrow; near Wimborne we find Badbury, or Badbury-rings, the *Badan-burig* of the Saxon Chronicle, and conjectured—may not I say proved?—by Dr. Guest to be the *Mons Badonicus*, the scene of a great battle. Overhanging the Vale of Blackmoor we have Rawlsbury-rings, more popularly called Bullbarrow Dungeon; also Hod and Hameldon, the twin giants frowning down on the valley of the Stour. Near Bere Regis we shall have an opportunity of seeing Woodbury Hill, and, near Milborne St. Andrew, Weatherbury Castle, or Castle-rings.

Of the ordinary peaceful homes of the Britons I know not that we have a right to expect abundant indications. If, however, we are justified in supposing that there was any similarity between the habits of the Germanic tribes, as described by Tacitus, and theirs, we may trace enough to establish the existence of no inconsiderable population. "It is well known," says the historian (Germ. c. xvi.), "that the Germans have no cities, nor even allow of connected dwellings. They live apart, wherever a spring, or a plain, or a wood attracts them. They build the villages, not as we do, with the houses close to each other; but each individual surrounds his house with an open space, either as a preservative from the accident of fire, or in ignorance of architecture. They do not even use mortar, or tiles; rough timber, without regard to beauty or comfort, being the only material. They also dig subterraneous caves, and bedaub them above with quantities of mud, as a place of refuge in winter, and as a receptacle for the corn." Of both these classes of habitations abundant indications are to be found in Dorset. Certain reticulated seams, either in the green-sward of the downs, or apparent on the surface of the arable fields at Sydling, Maiden Newton, Melcombe Horsey, &c., represent the former; whilst the *hybernacula* are to be seen at Boudsleigh, Shillingstone, and elsewhere. With regard to the more permanent homes—those sepulchral barrows to which reference has been made—they have been almost too extensively ransacked, and an ample and instructive assortment of their contents will be found in the Temporary Museum. Little has been added, and perhaps little remains to be added, to the exhaustive paper on "The Dorsetshire Barrows," contributed by the late lamented Dorsetshire antiquary, Mr. John Sydenham, to the *Archæologia* (vol. xxx. pp. 327—338). Whatever further secrets can be elicited, Mr. C. Warne will no doubt reveal in his forthcoming work, "The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset." On one point only would he (Mr. Bingham) venture to throw out a remark, that whereas a few years since it was denied that any admixture could be detected of British and Roman interments, both Mr. Austen and he himself (more recently) had discovered Roman coins amongst the coarse unbaked pottery of the more primitive tribes.

Probably one of the oldest Celtic relics in Dorsetshire is the stone-crowned barrow, called the Agglestone, standing on the heath near Studland. Though generally deemed to be *in situ*, it has been apparently ren-

dered more conspicuous by artificial manipulation at its base, and with the not improbable object of rendering it moveable as a Logan or rocking-stone. The Cerne Giant, too, a gigantic figure carved upon the chalk hill side, though necessity has compelled us to exclude him from the programme, for he lies remote from railways, is worthy of a visit; and whatever his precise age may be, incontestably claims the honor of being our oldest inhabitant. A few isolated stones, also, which may have been heretofore objects of worship, and are still the subject of much trivial folk-lore, as well as cromlechs, &c., are scattered here and there in the neighbourhood. We have nothing to teach respecting the vestiges, but much to learn. An old friend, whom I detect by his initials in the last *Dorset County Chronicle*, claims them rather as the property of Geology than of Archaeology, but I am inclined to think that, like the Agglestone, they may have often been converted to religious uses, and thus banded over from the one science to the other. Flint weapons, and a few rude gold ornaments have been occasionally found, but they are certainly not so frequent as might be expected. Some splendid specimens of the latter were dug up in 1849 at Beerhackett, and exhibited by the late Earl Digby. They have been described in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 64.

It is now, however, high time that I should pass on to the Historic Period, and here we possess in Dorsetshire abundant proofs of Roman occupation. The least practised eye would at once perceive that we are assembled at this moment at the angle of the main *vias* of a Roman stative camp. Its *vallum* surrounds the town, now planted with trees, in some places in the *fossa*, in others in the debased and crumbled *agger*. At one point, a little to the left of the western gate, the remains of a rough Roman wall may be seen. Within a hundred yards of this spot a tessellated pavement, a portion of which is preserved in the chapel of the gaol, has been exhumed within the last few years. In fact it is scarcely possible to dig in any part of the area of eighty acres included within the *vallum*, which has not been much disturbed, without finding Roman pottery or coins, pavement, ornaments, or implements of one kind or another. Some fine specimens of these will be exhibited, no doubt, in the Museum of the Institute; and I would invite the special attention of the members to some remarkable relics deposited in the County Museum, by the Rev. H. Moule, including, among other interesting things, certain ornaments formed of Kimmeridge coal, and proving, if proof were wanting, that the theory, first, I believe, formed by Mr. J. Sydenham, but now generally adopted, that the so-called "coal-money" was merely the refuse of the lathe. The Amphitheatre, commonly called Mambury-rings, a short distance outside the southern *porta*, speaks for itself. Though I can find no authority for Hutchins's statement that Agricola encouraged the Britons to build amphitheatres, in order to introduce luxuries, and to soften the fierce and rough temper of the population, I can quite understand the Roman Imperator, whoever he was, availing himself of the obvious capacity of the Britons for constructing earth-works, in order to provide recreation both for the conquerors and the conquered. We shall see that its dimensions are far beyond what they might at first sight appear. Dr. Stukeley's calculation was that it would contain very nearly 13,000 spectators. Poundbury, also, at a few hundred yards from the western *porta*, though the old notion that it was the *Pomærium* of *Durnovaria* seems thoroughly untenable, bears to my eyes very decided marks of Roman workmanship. To

my surprise I find that Mr. Warne, in his Map and Index, which have only just been put into my hands, claims it as a Danish camp. Until he justifies this opinion by adequate proofs, I venture to reserve my own. I do not presume to contradict him, but Camden's statement that it was the camp of Sueno, A.D. 1002, would appear to rest on no very solid foundation; and there could be no great probability that the Danish rovers would have had time or opportunity to construct so extensive a camp, at such a distance from the sea, the base of their warlike operations. We owe the preservation of both these last-mentioned monuments of antiquity to the interference of zealous archaeologists. A few years ago both were threatened by the ruthless railway engineers; but Mr. Warne himself was the main instrument in persuading them to spare the former, and the late respected Mr. A. D. Troyte successfully led the forlorn hope in behalf of the latter. The tessellated pavements at Weymouth, Sherborne, Dewlish, Rarn-pisham, Wynford, and elsewhere, are strongly indicative of a long and peaceful possession of the district by the Romans. Mr. Bingham here referred to the beautiful Frampton pavements uncovered in 1793, and a description of which was published by Lysons, with engravings by Engleheart. He especially adverted to the Christian monogram which is found in them amidst heathen emblems. He also spoke of the Roman encampment in the British earth-work at Hodhill. The Roman stations appear to have been *Londinis*, or Lyme; *Canca Ariza*, Charmouth; *Durnovaria*, Dorchester; *Vindogladia*, Wimborne; *Clavinium*, Weymouth; *Morionium*, Wareham; *Bolvelantium*, Poole; and *Ibernium*, Bere. The *Via Iceniana* seems to have run through the county from Woodyates, passing by Dorchester to Bridport; with a branch from Dorchester to the Fosse-way at *Ischalis* or Hechester, and another to Crewkerne.

I know not, continued Mr. Bingham, at what precise period we are to fix the date of Mr. Millais' noble picture in this year's Exhibition, where the grim British wife so unwillingly relinquishes her Roman husband on the chalky shores of Dorset, but there is no doubt that the county formed no inconsiderable portion of the dominions of the kings of Wessex; that Aldhelm, one of the brightest lights of the middle ages, was consecrated first Bishop of Sherborne about the year 705; that King Beortric was buried at Wareham about 784; that the elder brothers of King Alfred, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, were buried at Sherborne, and Ethelred, the next brother and successor, at Wimborne; and that Edward the Martyr was assassinated by his stepmother, Elfrida, in 978, at Corfes Gate, or Corfe Castle. During much of this period our shores seem to have been peculiarly exposed to the incursions of the Danes; and we read of them at Port, supposed to be Portland, at Charmouth, Wareham, and Swanwich, where 120 of their barks were wrecked. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that we appear to have few antiquities which can be accurately referred either to Saxon or Danish types. The great majority of our place-names, as well as our dialectical expressions, are unmistakably Saxon, and to this extent that people have left their impress upon the district; but of Danish relics I know none; and it is very rare, I imagine, that either in our barrows or elsewhere have any of the urns, or weapons, or ornaments come to light, which are generally ascribed elsewhere to the Anglo-Saxon period. In this age, however, most of our great monasteries were founded. King Cenwalh, who died A.D. 672, is said to have been a benefactor to Sherborne. Cuthburh, sister to King Ina, built the monastery at Wim-

borne A.D. 718 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*). Alfred founded the Benedictine Nunnery at Shaftesbury c. 888; Athelstan, the Benedictine Monastery at Milton, about 933; Ethelmar, Earl of Devon, that at Cerne c. 987; and Orc, the House-carle, or *Æconomus*, of Canute, that at Abbotsbury c. 1026. Mr. Bingham here described some original charters, signed by Edgar, Canute, Archbishop Dunstan, &c., relating to this Orc or Orey, and now amongst the muniments of the Earl of Ilchester.

Dorsetshire was a favourite hunting-ground of some of the Norman kings, especially of King John, who afforested large tracts of the county, and constantly visited Dorchester, Poorstock, Bere, Gillingham, Corfe, Canford, and other places. The two Norman castles, Corfe and Sherborne, of which any considerable remains exist, we shall have an opportunity of seeing. Their fates were somewhat similar—both of them having been gallantly defended during the civil wars by high-spirited ladies, and both of them doomed to destruction by the same inexorable conquerors. Mr. Bingham proceeded to observe that, in regard to monastic remains, there were some at Cerne and Abbotsbury which ought to be examined, but it was impossible to extend their researches to the whole of the county on this occasion; he trusted that what they would see on their first visit would induce them to come again, and finish the work at another time. As to churches, the three finest—he did not mention them in the order of interest, but as they were to be taken in their excursions—were Sherborne, Wimborne, and Milton. They would also find many other fine churches scattered through the county—Cerne, Bridport, Beaminster, Poorstock, Bere Regis, a very curious Norman church at Studland, and a singular church at Maiden Newton, which contained, he was assured, unquestionable Saxon work. There was also a fine tower at Piddletrentthide, and some interesting painting at Yetminster. The Dorset churches could not compete with the Perpendicular towers and carved oak screens and roofs of Somerset, but almost every little church in the county, which had not the misfortune of being over-restored, contained features interesting to the archæologist, which rendered them worthy of being visited. Norman work was common in the village churches, and many of them had remarkable fonts; drawings of that at Melbury Bubb were exhibited in the Temporary Museum, and it would challenge rivalry for curiosity with any font which this county contained. One of the most remarkable features was that the carving was all up-side-down; there seemed every reason to suppose that it had always been in that position; the animals sculptured upon it were on their heads, and they were all rolled together by the folds of a snake. Besides the houses they would visit, there were many others which would be well worthy of attention on a future occasion. Among these were Melbury, the residence of Lord Ilchester; Parnham, the seat of Sir Henry Oglander; Hanford, which belonged to the late Mr. Ker Seymer; and Grange House, the residence of the Rev. N. Bond, with an exceedingly beautiful Elizabethan front. There were also manor houses at Wraxall and Toller Fratrum; there was likewise a house with which curious traditions are connected at Wolveton. Lulworth Castle, although not a Norman structure, was well worth seeing; and Mr. Weld, with very kind liberality, had invited the Institute to partake of his hospitality, if the members should have an opportunity of visiting that place.

With regard to history, Mr. Bingham observed that he had little time

to touch on events connected with Dorset. Queen Margaret landed at Weymouth in 1471. In the civil wars, it was a land debateable; Charles II. passed through the county after the battle of Worcester; the county was also the scene of Monmouth's landing. As to the Worthies of Dorset, Fuller, who was connected with this county by residence and preferment, gave but a short list. He mentioned Cardinal Morton and Archbishop Stafford. Among the soldiers, he commended "Little Mr. Basket, that great soldier," he also mentioned the first Earl of Bedford, the founder of the house of Russell, as well as another soldier, of whom many now present had perhaps never heard—Sir Richard Bingham, a great warrior in the days of Queen Elizabeth, one of the persons specially appointed to make provision for resisting the Armada. He was the founder of that branch of his family which still existed in Ireland, and was said by Fuller to be "*Fortis atque felix*." Hutchins mentioned several other Dorset Worthies; and there was one that might well claim mention on the present occasion, though his name was better known in America than in England—John White, the patriarch of Dorchester, a most respectable clergyman, and, at the time of the great rebellion, rector of St. Peter's, in Dorchester, in the porch of which church he was buried, though there is no monument to his memory. He could hardly be called one of the "Pilgrim Fathers," but perhaps a "Pilgrim Grandfather." He sent out a large number of youths to America, who there founded the town of Dorchester, now in a much more flourishing condition than the original town.

The county was fortunate in topographers. Their first topographer was an author named Coker, believed to be a clergyman, and probably Vicar of Tincleton, who wrote a sketch of the history of Dorsetshire in 1630, but it remained in manuscript for about a hundred years. It was well worthy of notice, both as being very quaint, and giving a remarkable account of the traditions at that time existing in Dorset. Coker went over the whole of the county, and enumerated the families that lived in it, and thus perhaps he laid the foundation of Hutchins's History, well known to be one of the best topographical descriptions that exists of any county. Hutchins was born in 1698, in Dorchester, or in the immediate neighbourhood; his father was curate of Bradford Peverell. He was educated at the Grammar School at Dorchester, and when he was old enough to take orders, he became curate of Milton Abbey, and was usher at the Grammar School then existing at that place. He engaged himself there, his biographer said, in an occupation "much more useful to others than agreeable to himself;" but soon after, he was preferred to the living which he (Mr. Bingham) now occupied at Melecombe Horsey. He was entirely deaf, and during a long life, both there and at Wareham, to which he afterwards was appointed, he worked at his history, constantly searching through the muniment chests of the principal families in the county. He thus built up that most valuable history, which he never lived to see published, since it was not given to the world until a year after his death. It was a remarkable instance of a man laboring on without fame and with little encouragement, and by an almost unequalled courage and energy achieving a work, the labor of which could only be understood by those who had carefully studied it.

There was only one other point to which he had time to allude, namely, the Dorset dialect; but his old friend (the Rev. William Barnes), the poet

and philologer of Dorset, would speak for himself on this subject, and no doubt he would give specimens of the dialect which he loved, and which he had so beautifully illustrated by his poems. Before concluding, Mr. Bingham wished to say a word about another place, and that was Stalbridge; an eminent worthy had there resided—a man not more distinguished by his scientific attainments than for theological knowledge, and the impulse which he gave to religion during his life—the Hon. Robert Boyle. He lived at Stalbridge House, which was now destroyed. The site might have been visited had time permitted, not only on account of this association, but for the beautiful Perpendicular cross which still existed in the town, and which, considering its age, has been wonderfully preserved.

Mr. Bingham, at the close of his interesting address, observed that in the room where they were now assembled there was an object associated with memorable times in the annals of Dorset—with the memory of one whose odious character presented a striking contrast to the kindly and generous disposition of the noble President whom they had the gratification to see in that place. The seat occupied by the Marquis Camden on the present occasion had long been traditionally known as "Judge Jeffreys' Chair."

At the conclusion of the meeting, a party was formed to visit the antiquities of Dorchester, under the guidance of Mr. Bingham. Entering the county gaol, they went into the prison chapel to view a tessellated pavement that is placed in front of the pulpit, found some years ago near its present site. Thence they walked to St. Peter's church, where Mr. Bingham pointed out its principal features, directing attention to the two cross-legged knights resting in two windows of the aisles, weaponed, helmeted, and dressed in coats of mail; the monument, in the cinque cento style, at the east end of the north aisle, to the memory of Sir John Williams, knight; the finely-sculptured white marble monument to Lord Holles, at the west end of the north aisle, and a brass dated 1436. The church is a good specimen of the Perpendicular style. Mr. Freeman said the church is of the Somerset or West of England type; the tower is a remarkably good one, though not equal to those of some of the Somerset churches, and the roof is coved. He then indicated the general characteristics of the West of England type of churches as distinguished from those of the eastern and midland counties. The party then passed the house (Mrs. Dufall's) reputed to be Judge Jeffreys' lodgings during the "bloody assize" of 1685, when 292 pleaded guilty to being accomplices in the insurrection for Monmouth, and 80 of them were left for execution. Mr. Parker remarked that there was but little doubt that the house was the residence of the notorious judge. Passing along to the garden of Mrs. Stone, the Walks, the party viewed the remains of the wall of flint and unhewn stone that at one period crowned the Roman vallum. Mr. Bingham remarked that no doubt Dorchester was the site of the Roman town Durnovaria, and originally surrounded by earthworks. The wall now being examined was pronounced to be decidedly Roman by a great authority, Mr. Roach Smith. The company then walked to the bottom of South Street, where, their *cicerone* observed, most probably stood the Prætorian gate of Durnovaria. Making their way to Wellaston Field, through the kindness of the Mayor and Corporation of the town a section of the earthworks of the Roman vallum

was exposed to view. Mr. Bingham remarked that some years ago a number of skeletons were found there, which were popularly believed to be Roman; but he was of opinion that they were the remains of criminals that had been executed on Gallows-hill. Lastly, a visit was paid to the church at Fordington St. George. Here was pointed out a curious holy-water stoup, which was considered to be quite unique, the mediæval pulpit, and the peculiar tile paving in front of the same, presenting the original arrangement of the paving. Mr. Freeman said that the tower of the church, like that of St. Peter's, is a very good specimen of the West of England type. He then dilated on the character of the windows and the tracery, and directed attention to the peculiarity of the turret and panelling of the windows. Mr. Parker made some remarks upon the figures of St. George and the Dragon, which are rudely sculptured in stone in the tympanum of the south porch. He observed that the figures had been stated to be a representation of St. George at the siege of Antioch, but he quoted from an Italian work, which showed that similar figures were found in Syrian churches 300 years before the date of Norman work, and he was of opinion that the legend was brought from Syria by the Crusaders, and that, finding a church dedicated to St. George, they sculptured upon it the effigies of St. George and the Dragon. He thought that the hardness of the stone in which the work was done gave it a more archaic appearance than was warranted by its age, and he attributed it to the period of about 1160 or 1180.

The evening meeting was held at the Town-hall, under the presidency of Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart.

The Chairman opened the business of the meeting by calling on Mr. J. H. Parker to make some remarks on early Rome, and to give some account of his recent discoveries in that city.

Mr. PARKER said that he had come quite unprepared, and without any of those accessories with which lectures were usually illustrated. The subject upon which he proposed to treat was that of the early Christian churches of Rome, of which there were not less than fifty now remaining in that city. The earliest were those which were originally Pagan temples, and were afterwards consecrated to Christian worship. Among these he included the celebrated Pantheon, which was generally considered to have been a temple, although by some it is said to have been an entrance hall to the baths of Agrippa; now it is a church dedicated to All Saints. The circular part or temple was erected probably before the Christian era; to this a portico and chambers at the back and sides were added by Agrippa in the first century.

The next series to which he alluded were the small burial-chapels in the Catacombs, to which much importance had been attached. He did not believe that these were commonly used as churches, but rather for the purposes of the burial service. Nor did he believe that the Catacombs were places of refuge for any length of time, but only for a few hours in times of persecution.

The next series were the churches made in houses. Indeed many of the great basilicas of the time of Constantine were originally halls within the large palaces. One of these was the original church of St. John Lateran, which stood within the walls of the Lateran Palace. The present church has been rebuilt since. Again, the church of St. Peter's was

originally a hall in the palace of the Vatican. He then referred to the church of S. Croce, which was erected within the walls of the palace of St. Helena, sometimes improperly called the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. He then described the form of the ancient Roman basilica, King's hall, or law court, with its nave and two side aisles, and its apse at the end, where the judge sat, which place, when these edifices were converted into churches, was occupied by the bishop.

Another class was the monastic churches, several of which were very early. Several of these edifices were fortified, and they were nearly all erected on the plan of the basilica, or hall of justice. In all the primitive churches the altar was at the west end, but this did not interfere with the turning to the east during worship, as the altar was low and narrow, and the bishop could look over it, and administer the Communion over it. He considered this custom of turning towards the rising sun was nearly as old as Christian worship itself. Such altars are known by the name of altars turned towards the people.

He then alluded to the church of St. Pudentiana, which according to Baronius, was consecrated by Pope Pius I. in the year 160 of the Christian era, or about that time. It was made out of materials from the house of Pudens, which was well known as the place of assembly, and for the reception of foreign Christians coming to Rome. The house had been rebuilt over and over again, but the mosaic picture in the apse is of the fourth century, and he believed that the lower part was a portion of the earliest church. He then detailed the results of some excavations which he had made in this edifice, and explained the character of the architecture which pointed to such an early date. He also commented on several other churches, observing that they all exhibited a decay of art from the fourth down to the tenth century. The walls of Rome were very remarkable; they were about ten miles in extent, and in some places were quite fifty feet high.

The Rev. GILBERT N. SMITH asked if there were any stone benches in the chapels of the catacombs which might have been used for the placing of coffins previously to interment? He had noticed benches of that description in churches in Wales.

Mr. PARKER replied in the negative, but said there were seats which might have been temporarily used for teaching. As far as he could see he did not think these edifices were generally used for the performance of service, but merely for burial purposes and perhaps for catechising. None of them would hold more than fifty persons, with one exception, and that could not contain more than eighty. He had another remark to make with reference to the early churches of Rome, and that was that the interiors had been very much altered and plastered over from time to time; but if the outside could be got at properly the whole history developed itself. Another point of some interest and but little understood was the alterations that had taken place in the level of the city. The general tradition was that this had been occasioned by the burning of the place by the Normans in the eleventh century, and that the ashes had thus raised the level. He believed, however, that this had only been occasioned in the lower parts by the inundations of the Tiber, as it was evident the hills were about the same level as previously. After explaining the characteristics of the adjacent walls, the lecturer observed that the campaniles were objects of interest, but none of them were earlier than the twelfth century,

though perhaps built after an earlier type. The mosaics were exceedingly interesting; they belonged to all periods from the fourth to the ninth centuries; then there was a break to the twelfth century. It was apparent by comparison that they were much more durable than the frescoes. One of the finest was that at the end of St. John Lateran, and this was threatened with destruction; because the nave had been paganized they were going to paganize the choir as well. In Rome everything after the fifth century was called modern, and consequently despised. He also alluded to the destruction of a fine porch, built by the Cosmati family, in the church of St. Lorenzo, as an instance of the destruction committed by architects in the present day. Thus St. Paul's, for which money had been collected all over the world, was called a restoration, but every vestige of the old building had been destroyed, and a pagan temple had been erected in its stead.

The chairman observed that the subject was open to discussion, and remarked that Mr. Parker would be ready to answer any question that might have suggested itself.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN asked if there was such a thing known as the consecration of a Christian church in the second century? Were those churches standing up above ground in a state to be consecrated at that period? No doubt there were churches standing in the third century. What was the evidence that there were churches standing above ground in the second century fit to be consecrated? He asked Mr. Parker for the evidence that churches above ground were consecrated as early as 150 or 160.

Mr. PARKER said that his authority was the *Annals of Baronius*; and the architectural features were confirmatory of the statements made in that work.

Mr. FREEMAN did not think that much reliance was to be placed in a writer who lived so many centuries afterwards. Where was the evidence of the consecration of this room in the house of Pudens?

The Rev. G. N. SMITH remarked that St. Paul speaks of the church that was the house of Priscilla and Aquila (*Romans xvi. v. 5*).

Mr. PARKER observed that Justin Martyr mentioned the house of Pudens as a refuge for foreign Christians in the second century.

Mr. FREEMAN said that that proved nothing whatever. It would not do to patch up things out of Baronius. Mr. Parker was too cautious to do the same thing with regard to English architecture. He would not go to Hutchins's *History of Dorset* to ascertain the date of a structure, but he would examine the style in the spirit of an archaeologist.

A vote of thanks was then accorded to Mr. Parker, for his very able and instructive lecture; and, on the motion of Colonel Sturt, M.P., a vote of thanks was given to the chairman, after which the proceedings terminated.

August 2.

EXCURSION TO MAIDEN CASTLE.

The morning was devoted to hearing papers read in the Historical Section, Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart., presiding.

The Rev. W. BARNES, B.D., of Came, read a paper on Ancient Dorset.¹

The Rev. PROFESSOR WILLIS read a paper on Sherborne Abbey Church, which appeared in this volume of the Journal, p. 179.

Mr. THOMAS BOND read a paper on Corfe Castle.²

At three p.m. a large party started in carriages for an afternoon's excursion to visit the British and Roman remains and other objects of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood of Dorchester. The first halt was made at the amphitheatre called Mambury Rings. The arena of this earthwork is almost elliptical, and is enclosed save on the north side, where there is an opening by a mound about 30 ft. high. The party having scaled the rather steep ascent to the mound, the Rev. C. W. Bingham remarked that there were very many theories about the name Mambury, or Maumbury Rings, and he ventured to have a little theory of his own; it would not, however, at all suit his good friend the Rev. W. Barnes, for it had nothing to do with British names. He could not help thinking that the former part of the name "Mambury" was derived from *minus*. He had no doubt whatever himself that this place was constructed under the superintendence of the Romans, for the purpose of affording amusement both to the Roman army and the conquered people of Durnovaria. It was possible, therefore, that plays were acted in this amphitheatre, and everybody knew that *minus* meant a stage player. He had never broached the theory before, and he was ready to have it knocked down at a moment's notice. He believed that everybody, who knew anything about the matter, must be satisfied that the place was established under Roman superintendence. There was no sort of appearance about it to indicate that it was a Celtic structure. The outer wall, he imagined, had been greatly delectrated by time, and there had been a milestone put up by the Town Council of the borough. No doubt the area was much deeper formerly than at the present time. Dr. Stukeley, he believed, had broached this idea—the opening at the north side being the entrance to the amphitheatre, on the opposite side were the *cavae*, from which issued the beasts. He did not think that he could listen with patience to anybody who called the amphitheatre a Celtic work.

The party next proceeded onwards for about half-a-mile along the main road, and then diverged to the eastward to visit the ancient villa of Herringstone. Here the party was received by the present owner, Mr. E. W. Williams, and walking through the principal part of the house, which has been sadly modernised, entered the drawing-room, which is enriched with oak carving and furnished *à la Louis Quatorze*. Here Mr. Thomas Bond, of Tynham, addressed the company. He remarked that the origin of the name of Winterborne Herringstone was from a small stream, which also gave names to several villages in Dorset. They knew very little with exactness concerning the place till the time of Henry III. It belonged to Sir Henry Beauchamp, of the great Somerset family, who were the chief lords of the place. Under them the abbots of Bindon were the mesne lords of the manor of Herringstone. In the 27th of Henry III., he believed, an exchange was made between the abbots and Philip Herring, the latter giving some land at Chaldon Herring. He then came to live at this place, and it continued in the Herring family for several generations. In the time of Edward III. royal licence was granted to Sir Walter

¹ Printed in this volume, p. 278.

² Printed in this volume, p. 200.

Herring to improve the place and enclose it with a stone wall. It was no doubt a mansion-house from the time of Henry III. The Herrings were a Norman family, coming from Harang, in Normandy, and they were feudatories to the Earl of Warwick in the time of Henry II. They resided at Chaldon Herring till they came to this place, where they continued till the reign of Richard II., when the elder branch of the family became extinct, and the heiress married a certain Robert Fovant. Shortly afterwards it passed, by some means not yet discovered, to the family of Filiol, who continued in possession of the place till the early part of the sixteenth century, when it was purchased by the ancestors of the present owner. Although the manor entered into the family of Williams originally by purchase, subsequently they became co-heirs and representatives of the Herrings, who held the same for so long a period. Sir Walter Herring had two sons, to one of which he gave Herringstone and the other Chaldon Herring. At a subsequent period Sir John Williams, of Herringstone, married the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Delalind, who was descended from the last heiress of the Herring family. The manor-house was said by Hutchins to have been built in the thirteenth century by Siward. But Hutchins knew very little about architecture, and the fact was that the Siwards had nothing to do with it. The room they were in, and probably the greater part of the original house, was built by Sir John Williams in the time of James I. It was in the form of a quadrangle, had a court-yard, a private chapel where service was performed, and a burial-chapel. The quadrangle was subsequently destroyed, and now that hall was the only portion remaining of the old building. He directed attention to the arms of the Williamses in the carving of the roof, similar to those in St. Peter's Church.

Mr. PARKER said he thought they might congratulate the owner of the hall for having so well preserved a fine Jacobean ceiling, which architects were generally too fond of destroying. The ceiling was a remarkably good one of the latter part of the reign of James I. He pointed out, among the grotesque figures upon the inner roof, the letters C.P. and the arms of the Prince of Wales, showing that it must have been constructed at the period he had stated. Having noticed several fine old paintings and other objects of interest, the party retired from the mansion.

A pleasant ride of about a mile brought the party to the remarkable and immense earthworks called Maiden Castle, which occupy the flat summit of a hill, and are about one thousand yards from east to west, and five hundred yards from north to south, the whole begirt by two (in some parts three) ramparts 60 feet high. Here the Rev. W. Barnes acted as guide. He said that the Archaeological Institute had received a hearty welcome at the old Roman town of Dorchester, but they must be content to enter this British town without a greeting by the inhabitants. They stood on the greatest of more than twenty earthworks of the Durotriges of Dorset, a work that took up 115 acres of ground. He pointed out the difference of form between the British and Roman castrametation, the former following the winding outline of the hill brow as at Maiden Castle, and the Roman form, as at Poundbury, keeping more or less a squareness of angle and a straightness of sides. There seemed to have been four gates, and the one by which they stood had had, as most likely had the others, stone gate jambs, the bases of which had been taken away by a man then on the ground. The inner rampart had at one time something of a breast-wall of

Ridgeway stones, of which some few remained, and many loads had, to the knowledge of living men, been carried down to Martinstown for building. He pointed out a debased bank far eastward as the western boundary of the earliest camp, and begged the members to observe the inbendings of the inner rampart at the ends of this cross bank.

The Rev. H. MOULE requested the company to forget for a while the Romans and the Britons, and to observe the military skill indicated by the works, and to consider what kind of a population there must have been here to throw up such immense fortifications. No scattered tribes, he maintained, could have done it. New Zealand had been spoken of, but there was nothing shewn of the military skill of those tribes which approached that exhibited here. He had brought Indian officers to Maiden Castle, and when a distance off they had said it was like their hill-forts, but before they had gone far they said, these earthworks were not constructed by uncivilized men; it must have taken 100,000 men to make such fortifications. What must the population have been when they were constructed? Maiden Castle, he believed, could not have been the work of scattered tribes: no people anxious only for the safety of their cattle would make such earthworks.

The Rev. GILBERT SMITH, of Tenby, said it suggested to him that there was a good deal of geological action at the bottom of it all. He could shew them embankments, tortuous like those before them, which were entirely of geological origin, and man had nothing to do with them.

The party having proceeded again to the ramparts, and walked along to the eastward to where a huge mound terminated, the Rev. W. Barnes pointed out what he considered to be the end of the old camp or *oppidum*, and the indications of further ground being taken up.

General LEPROY said that he shared in the profoundest degree the respect all must feel for the immense energy and perseverance of our ancestors, whoever they were, in throwing up these wonderful earthworks, the only parallel to which, as far as he was aware, were the earthworks constructed by the unknown tribes of Ohio. He agreed with the former speakers as to their manifesting evidences of organization of labour and continuity of purpose far beyond what the scattered and divided tribes with which they connected the county were capable of; and he held that they must be the work of an anterior race. From the hasty survey he had made, he should judge that the works extended for nearly a mile, and a portion of the ramparts he had just measured was 60 feet high; and these were works made by people who had not the command of large flat tools, like our spades, but who worked with celts, or narrow instruments, by means of which only a small quantity of earth could be transported at a time. He thought that the difficulty as to the water supply might be partially solved by the habits of the people of those days. The incursions were made by levies or masses, and if they found the enemy prepared to receive them they dispersed; nor did they, he imagined, keep such a vigilant watch as to prevent the besieged from having access to water in various directions. From the military allusions in the early books of Scripture it was evident that what was regarded as the primary duty of a modern soldier—keeping watch—was observed with extreme laxity in those days. But he thought that the people mainly depended on the surface water caught in the pit referred to, which was conveniently placed for that purpose. As to Maiden Castle being defended in the strict sense of the word, he thought that was impos-

sible, because it would take as many men to defend it as to make it. He thought the occupants must have trusted to other obstacles than the earthworks, such as they in military parlance called *abattis*—structures which the enemy would find a difficulty in passing. The mere physical difficulty of mounting an earth-slope by naked men unencumbered by armour would have been but trifling, and with the activity they acquired in the chase they could more easily have assaulted the place than modern soldiers bearing their accoutrements. Therefore, he concluded that the defenders must have had recourse to other means besides earthworks, to render the place tenable.

In illustration of what had been adduced as to the difficulty of obtaining water for the people occupying Maiden Castle, during a siege, Mr. Beresford Hope observed that Homer, describing the siege of Troy, spoke of the springs of the Scamander as being outside the town.

In another part of the earthworks, Mr. Barnes made some remarks upon the etymology of the name Maiden Castle. He considered that it indicates a castle without a castle—as a maiden assize means an assize without any trials—or a fastness on the plain.

The party then proceeded to a spot where excavations had been made, by the permission of Mr. Sturt, and at his expense, under the direction of Mr. Cunningham. The hole was about three feet deep, and Mr. Cunningham explained that it was an ancient British hut-hole, but at the bottom were found two or three inches' depth of ashes, also several sling-stones and pieces of pottery. An urn was found in the other camp, also a small drinking-cup, and a piece of an ancient quern, which Mr. Bingham said was possibly brought from Germany. These were to be seen at the Museum, as also a piece dug from the pit shewing the stratification of the ashes. Bones of various animals, and a piece of a human jawbone, containing a tooth very much worn, were likewise discovered there. In the presence of the party an excavator dug in the hole, and threw up small pieces of pottery and bones, which were curiously examined. Mr. Cunningham said that he had been led to these hut-holes by observing slight depressions upon the surface of the ground, but there was great difficulty in making such researches, because the whole surface had been ploughed over within the last hundred years.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM moved that Mr. Sturt be thanked for his kindness in this particular, and also because he is one of the landlords of Dorset who strenuously set their faces against the destruction of the old tumuli where our ancestors are lying. He trusted that all the landlords in England would follow Mr. Sturt's example in this regard. These remarks were heartily received by the company. This concluded the proceedings at Maiden Castle.

Returning in the direction of Dorchester, a diversion was made to visit the angular pound-like earthwork, in the Roman form of castrametation, a field of high ground by the river Frome, called Poundbury. Mr. Bingham assembled the party at the north-western angle of the camp, overlooking the river, and observed that there had been various theories advanced as to the origin of this camp. Some persons thought that it was an Anglo-Saxon camp of council, and others that it was a Danish encampment, but he believed it to be a Roman camp. Instead of following the line of the hill generally it was nearly in the form of a parallelogram. To the westward there was a curious kind of ledge or linchet, to which Mr. Barnes desired

him to call attention; it followed the winding of the river for two or three miles. To himself it seemed impossible that it could have been a natural formation; whatever it was originally, he certainly thought it had been artificially enlarged. A little further up the valley, in all directions there were relics of what he believed to be British occupation. Mr. Bingham then directed attention to Wolveton or Wolverton House, the ancient seat of the Trenchards, and remarked that in that house, humanly speaking, the fortunes of the house of Russell began to rise in the ascendant. Sir Thomas Trenchard was Sheriff of Dorset, when the Archduke Philip of Spain was obliged to run his barque ashore at Weymouth. He was brought to the Sheriff's house at Wolverton, and, being unable to speak any language but pure Dorset, found it difficult to communicate with the Archduke. In this extremity he bethought him of John Russell, of Kingston Russell or Berwick, in the neighbourhood, who had been a factor to a merchant in Spain and who could interpret the speech of his royal visitor. He was sent for, and made himself so agreeable that the Archduke took him to London, where the King took a fancy to him, and in time he became Earl of Bedford, and the founder of the house of Russell. From Poundbury the party returned to Dorchester.

At the evening meeting the Rev. J. H. AUSTEN read a paper on "The Romans in Dorset," which will be printed in a future volume of this Journal.

Mr. J. T. IRVINE said that having attended a little to the question of Roman roads in Dorset, he believed the present road, described as that from Sarum to Dorchester, might more probably be a line from Sarum to some port or place in Purbeck, or perhaps Lulworth Cove. The direct road from Sarum to Dorchester left Blandford to the east, and reaching the line of hills, followed them until arriving above Ansty, and passing Hartfoot Lane it becomes known as the Long Lane; it then runs straight for Dorchester, (receiving near Piddlehinton Down another road which comes from Chester-blade and Blackford, in Somerset,) and after passing by Frome Whitfield it entered Dorchester. Leaving Dorchester, it went, not, as stated, to Eg-gardon, but near Winterborne Abbas, for Long Bredy Hut, to the Travellers' Rest, by Walditch to the north of Bridport, where it is crossed somewhere by another from Horechester (coming by way of Stonidge). It then ran for Horechester, in Somerset, and on for Exeter. There were at least two Roman towns in Dorset, of which no mention had been made in the paper, one at Horechester, near Evershot, one at Buchester, near Font-mell and Shaston. There was every reason to believe Roman roads crossed the vale of Blackmore, coming south from Oreheston, in Wilts, and from near Maiden Bradley; both ran for the Dorchester road somewhere at Bellchalville or thereabouts, but another line ran south and west for Horechester, and on from there towards the sea near Bridport.

It was suggested that these questions should form the subject of local investigation.

August 3.

VISIT TO SHERBORNE.

The members of the Institute reached Sherborne by railway about eleven o'clock, and immediately proceeded to the Abbey Church. On their way they were joined by the Bishop of Oxford, and by Sir W. Medlicott, Bart., and other influential persons connected with the district.

The Rev. Professor WILLIS having mounted a chair in front of the church, described its history and architecture. He commenced by directing the attention of the company to the fragments of an older church, which now exist at the west end of the building. He entered minutely into an architectural description of these details, and observed that the ancient parish church of All Hallows, at the west end of the Abbey, consisted of three aisles and six bays. He then explained how this portion of the building was connected with the present structure, and observed that the east end sloped off so as to admit of the construction of the great west window. There was, no doubt, a screen against the two first piers of the parish church, before which was placed the altar. He then noticed the outside of the present structure, and called attention to the Norman porch on the south side, which had been most carefully rebuilt with the original stones, every stone having been marked, and placed in its original position. A battlement, Perpendicular in character, and harmonizing with that of the church, formerly ran round the porch; and he must say, with all respect to the architect, that he was sorry that it had not been replaced. The learned Professor then entered the building, and took up his station near the pulpit, where he discoursed upon the architectural features of the interior. He observed that on the preceding day he had alluded to an ancient document respecting the disturbances between the parishioners of Sherborne and the abbot and monks of St. Mary's Abbey. This document, which was dated on the 4th of January, 1436, was an ordinance issued by Neville, Bishop of Salisbury. It commenced by stating that the Bishop had received accusations from the abbot and monks respecting the conduct of eight or ten of the townspeople, who had erected a new font in the church of All Hallows, on the plea that the door communicating with the abbey was inconveniently narrow. They made further "pretence of the bells ringing for matins" in the abbey. It seems also, from this document, that there was another and a more serious ground of provocation given by the monks, viz., that the old abbey font had been improperly removed from its position in or near the porch. The new font remained unmolested until the next Easter procession, when both parties laid their complaints before the Bishop at his visitation, and an angry contention ensued. The Bishop ordered—1. That the font erected in the parish church should be destroyed. 2. That the bells should not be rung for matins until after the sixth hour to the Abbey clock. 3. That the Abbey font should be restored to its ancient place, and that all infants should be baptized therein. 4. That the door of entrance for the parishioners into the Abbey should be enlarged. When the Bishop's mandate was received a serious riot ensued. As soon as the monks attempted to displace the new font, the townspeople, who had assembled for its defence, came into the Abbey, and, according to Leland, a stout butcher, one Walter Gallor, defaced clean the stone font of the Abbey Church. The quarrel between the monks and the parishioners became somewhat serious, the Earl of Huntingdon taking the part of the townspeople, and Bishop Neville siding with the abbot and the monks. During the sedition a priest of the church of All Hallows shot a shaft of fire into the thatched roof of the choir, which was set on fire and destroyed. It may be inferred that the nave was not damaged. We learn from Leland that the parishioners were compelled to contribute towards the restoration of the east end of the building.

The learned Professor then proceeded to describe the architecture of the

church, which belongs to the Perpendicular period, but contains excellent specimens of the Norman, Early English, and Decorated periods. The arches of the tower and part of the transepts are of Norman work, while the nave and chancel are Perpendicular. Professor Willis described the architectural peculiarities of the choir and nave. He alluded to the splendid Perpendicular work of the choir, which was erected by a master-hand, and particularly described the light and graceful roof with its elegant tracery and fan-vaulting. He next described the nave, which was rebuilt by Abbot Peter Ransome, from 1475 to 1490, and remarked that although the church was mainly Perpendicular in style, its original Norman character is unmistakable throughout. The piers of the nave are polygonal, without capitals, and are singularly enriched on each face with panels which follow the arch and meet at the top, where they are united by a shield bearing a coat of arms. The pier-arches of the nave were unequal in space, and the piers were not opposite each other. He hinted it was not improbable that beneath the ashlar of the present piers, which was Perpendicular in style, might be found the original Norman work, forming, as at Winchester, the cores of the piers. The learned Professor described at full length the other portions of the building.

The company then left the church, and the Professor led them to the north side of the edifice, where he pointed out the remains of the cloisters. He took them into the school-room, which was stated to have been the refectory of the monastery; but as there were no remains of a pulpit, he did not think it was ever used for that purpose. Neither did he believe, as some said, that it was a dormitory. He considered it not improbable that it was the cellarer's hall, and might have been used for the accommodation of guests, all classes, from the prince to the beggar, being entertained at the great monasteries in former days.

The party then adjourned to Sherborne Castle, the seat of Mr. G. D. Wingfield Digby, who sumptuously entertained the archaeologists and their friends in a marquee erected in the grounds. Mr. Wingfield Digby took the chair, supported by the Marquis Camden, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Neaves, Sir R. Kirby, and other members of the Institute.

By desire of the Marquis Camden, the Bishop of Oxford seconded the toast of the health of Mr. and Mrs. Wingfield Digby. He said that the clergy present, and throughout the length and breadth of the land, thanked Mr. Wingfield Digby for what he had done at Sherborne Church. He had set a noble example to the laity of this country; and he (the Bishop) begged sincerely to thank him for what he had done, and also for his munificent hospitality on that occasion. They had been told that day of the disputes between the clergy and the laity which had taken place in Sherborne, when the Bishop of Salisbury came down to settle these differences. He could not help contrasting with those disorderly times the peaceful and pleasant gathering on that occasion. He begged most cordially to second the toast.

Mr. WINGFIELD DIGBY returned thanks, and expressed the great satisfaction which he felt in meeting them on that occasion.

LORD NEAVES proposed a vote of thanks to Professor Willis for the able description which he had given of Sherborne Abbey Church on that occasion. He called on the Bishop of Oxford to second the toast.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD said that the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute had acquired celebrity from the admirable architectural explana-

tions of Professor Willis. At nearly all these meetings he had described some noble church or venerable cathedral, and he begged to thank him for these annual expositions. He could assure them that he was not using words of after-luncheon congratulation when he alluded to the high qualities of Professor Willis, and to his great care, his wonderful sagacity, his intuitive eye, and his unvarying kindness on these occasions. He was, indeed, the light of the Institute and the delight of the annual meetings.

Professor WILLIS, in returning thanks, said that, in explaining the cathedrals and other churches of this country, much credit was due to those who had the care of these edifices, and who afforded him the opportunity of examining them and making himself acquainted with their history and architecture. He had felt great pleasure in visiting Sherborne Church, and was much gratified with the manner in which that edifice had been restored, and with the noble example of ungrudging, liberal munificence which Mr. Wingfield Digby had set to the whole land. The church had been perfectly restored, while all its ancient features had been preserved. He begged to thank Mr. Digby for what he had done.

The company then left the tent, and proceeded to the ruins of the old castle, in the grounds of Mr. Digby. It rained up to the time when the party left the grounds, and the thunder was very heavy.

Mr. J. H. PARKER described the remains of the ancient castle, which was built by Roger, Bishop of Sarum, in the time of King Stephen. He observed that it was strongly defended, and gave a description of its plan and details.

Some conversation followed, in which Mr. Parker, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Burtt, Mr. Bond, and other members took a part.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM then gave an outline of the history of the castle, reading from the Rev. E. Harston's "Handbook to the Abbey Church of St. Mary, Sherborne." From this account the history may be summarised as follows:—Roger Niger succeeded Osmund as Bishop of Sarum in 1102. He was the powerful minister and favourite of Henry I., and held also the earldom of Salisbury. He fortified the city of Sarum, and built for himself three great castles at Sherborne, Devizes, and Malmesbury. They were places of immense strength, for the Bishop was no mean engineer. In 1133 King Stephen seized these three castles, together with the Bishop's plate, jewels, and cash, the latter amounting to 40,000 marks, and threw the prelate into prison. Sherborne was recaptured by the Empress Maud, and for the next two hundred years was retained by the Crown on various pretexts, but was at length recovered for the bishopric, together with the chase and manor of Bere Wood, by Bishop Robert Wyvil, in 1355. Bishop Wyvil's brass in Salisbury Cathedral records this fact, and describes him *ut pugil intrepidus*, a compliment to a bishop more appreciable in that day than at present. The brass itself is most curious. The castle is drawn with all its towers. The keep has four turrets, two ornamented with a mitre, two with an earl's coronet (Roger being both bishop and earl). At the window over the gate stands the Bishop, in his robes, with crozier and mitre. His hands are lifted, as in the act of returning thanks to God, and re-consecrating the castle for the benefit of the bishopric. The long defilement it had undergone is expressed by the weeds and brambles in the foreground, where the rabbits are feeding or burrowing. In the gate stands the figure of an armed retainer, with the portcullis at his back, in the attitude of defence, as being ready to maintain his lord's rights by arms.

His left hand holds a shield, which is suspended from his shoulders by a strap, and in his right hand he wields his battle-axe. The brass is very nearly perfect, but the border and inscription are injured. How it escaped the pillage of the Civil Wars, when it is said that upwards of a hundred valuable brasses were destroyed, is wonderful. The castle and manor now remained with the see until the fourth year of Edward VI., when the Bishop, John Capon, made them over to the Lord Protector Somerset, who enjoyed them but a short time. On his attainder, the Crown again demised them to Sir John Paulett, Knt., for ninety-nine years. But the Bishop, having filed a bill in Chancery, declaring that he was intimidated into this surrender of his rights, his life being threatened, the Lord Chancellor decreed in his favour, and the castle once more reverted to the see. The bishopric suffered most in this matter from the hands of Queen Elizabeth, who twice kept the bishopric vacant for several years, till she could find some abject occupant for it who would consent to surrender Sherborne Castle and manor to the Crown. Toby Matthew (afterwards Bishop of Winchester), declined her terms, and she refused to make him bishop, and twice was Archbishop Whitgift compelled to interpose by a spirited remonstrance against her conduct. At length she made one Coldwell bishop, of whom it is said that he was surprised into consenting to her terms, and never held up his head afterwards. He died very soon after, and she then (after two years' delay) made Henry Cotton bishop, the condition of his appointment being the alienation of Sherborne, which she then bestowed on Sir Walter Raleigh. Of this Cotton, Dugdale remarks—"His son was born blind, who, notwithstanding, was made a minister, had three or four parsonages, and was canon of Salisbury, yet died a beggar." Thus was the see of Sarum deprived permanently of this portion of its endowment, a yearly rent-charge of £260 being alone reserved to it. Raleigh greatly improved the estate, but did not enjoy it long. It next came into the hands of Prince Henry, who lived but a few months afterwards. Carr, Earl of Somerset, its next possessor, closed his career in ignominy, and the castle and manor were then sold by the Crown to Sir John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol. In 1645 the fortress was captured, after a siege of sixteen days, by Cromwell and Fairfax, when Sir L. Dyves and Sir John Strangways, fifty-five gentlemen, and six hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners. It was then dismantled, and with its materials Castleton Church and the wings of the present mansion were erected.

Mr. BURTT said it was well known that Sir Walter Raleigh resided here some time, and some documents had fallen into his hands which curiously illustrated the social relations of that period. These documents were connected with proceedings in the Star Chamber, and one of the acts of oppression charged against Raleigh was that a certain John Mears, having spoken about an act of aggression, was one morning taken out of bed and put into the stocks for about twelve hours. The result of the proceedings was not given in the public judicial record. The documents had been printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1853.

The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH gave an account of a Roman cippus in the grounds. It was erected to Ælius, by his "tent-fellow." It had two interesting designs, the head of Medusa, with an owl at the bottom.

Mr. R. DIGBY said the cippus was brought from Dresden by John Digby, who brought home the classical books in the castle, and who died young.

The Rev. J. G. JOYCE drew attention to a curious tessellated pavement

which now forms the floor of the dairy. It was discovered some few years ago among some Roman foundations on Lenthay Common. It is in excellent condition, and is most perfect. A sitting figure is represented playing on a lyre with six chords, while a second figure is dancing and playing a double pipe, united at the mouthpiece. The borders are very rich.

The body of the present mansion was built by Sir Walter Raleigh, the date 1594 and his arms being visible on the windows. The two wings were added by the first Earl of Bristol, and the stone walls have been coated with grey plaster. An archway of stone, surmounted by the Digby crest, forms the entrance into the courtyard. The gardens are very quaint and pleasant; and a stone seat is pointed out as that frequented by Raleigh when he indulged in the Virginian weed. A large sheet of water, formed by damming up what was once an inconsiderable stream, is considered one of the most beautiful lakes in the west of England. It divides the pleasure from the woods which encircle the ruins of the ancient castle. The park, which is five miles in circuit, contains 1170 acres.

The party returned to Dorchester, where in the evening a *conversazione* was held in the temporary Museum. The company manifested great interest in the antiquities exhibited; and the reading by the Rev. W. Barnes of some of his poems, written in the Dorsetshire dialect, gave great satisfaction, and was greeted with warm applause.

August 4.

MEETINGS OF SECTIONS.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P., took the Chair at 10 o'clock.

The Rev. J. G. JORCE read a paper on the results of the excavations recently undertaken by the Duke of Wellington, at Silchester. The discourse was illustrated by diagrams and numerous coloured representations of objects there exhumed. A singular amount of uncertainty hung about the name, which he was not prepared to dispel. Silchester was supposed to have been originally a British settlement or camp, from its form, but it was occupied, undoubtedly, at an early date by the Romans. The internal portion of the town was subdivided into rectangular forms, by two roads, one running north and south and the other east and west; but the walls were irregular, having, he believed, as many as nine faces. The walls, nearly all of which are perfect, are of immense strength, and were evidently built in courses. From the fact of there not having been found tiles in Silchester inscribed with the name of any legion, it had been doubted whether it was ever occupied as a military station, but he believed it had been so occupied, and gave his reasons for thus thinking. He did not doubt, however, but that commerce was carried on there, because at that time it was one of the most important centres of enterprise in the country. He then directed attention to the construction of the houses exhumed, and gave interesting details of their contents. The coins discovered, he remarked, ranged from the time of the Emperor Augustus to coins of the latest period of the occupation of Britain by the Romans. Of the first century coins there had been found 11; second century, 30; third, 144; and fourth, 211. The lecturer was thanked for his admirable paper, and the enlightened and patriotic enterprise of the Duke of Wellington in prosecuting these researches was cordially acknowledged.

Mr. C. T. NEWTON, F.S.A., delivered a lecture on Phœnician Art as illustrated by recent discoveries in Rhodes, Cyprus, and Sidon. The lecturer observed that, as far as we know, the Phœnicians were the first people who made long voyages from the eastern to the western extremities of the Mediterranean Sea; the first to observe the stars for the purposes of navigation; and, if ancient chronologers were to be believed, they were the founders of a city beyond the pillars of Hercules 1,200 years before the Christian era. The Phœnicians were the prototypes of the Englishmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and rivalled them in their happy mixture of audacity, and sagacity in discovering the best markets, and that at a time when Greek history had not begun. They were connected with the historical books of Scripture; they invented the alphabet which we inherit, and he thought it was not too much to say that had not the Phœnicians simplified the mode of writing and bequeathed their alphabet to the Greeks, the "Times" which appeared this day might never have been printed. With reference to the tin the Phœnicians obtained from Britain, he observed that some thought the southern counties were under Phœnician influence—that they had factories here, introduced much of their civilisation, and left evidences of their skill in such structures as Stonehenge. Sir G. C. Lewis in his history of the Astronomy of the Ancients argued that the Phœnicians never landed in the British isles, but that the tin was conveyed to the isle of Vectis, then across to Gaul, and from thence on muleback to Marseilles. If this reasoning were correct, they could never hope to discover Phœnician remains in this country. But he (the lecturer) based his conclusion mainly on the fact that before the time of the Romans the accounts given of Britain are mixed up with much that is fabulous. He conceived that circumstance to be attributable to the pains the Phœnicians took to conceal the place where they found a good market. It was an early opinion that Phœnician art had a distinct character, but no specimens of it could be obtained. The writing alleged to be Phœnician was chiefly upon coins, but on examination, these proved to have been the work of Greek artists, though occasionally a Phœnician deity was found upon them; they were coins of the satraps of the time of the Artaxerxes, from 300 to 400 B.C. Early vases of an Asiatic character were likewise attributed to them, but he held they were of Greek workmanship. He then directed attention to the results in recent excavations at Rhodes, Cyprus, and Sidon, and warmly eulogised the Emperor of the French for the researches he has caused to be made. He gave in detail an account of the finding of terra-cottas, pottery, porcelain, glass, gold ornaments (especially instancing several remarkable ear-rings), and other relics. The Phœnicians were the traders who navigated the seas in the earliest times. They worked several metals, and made trinkets, which they exchanged with the people with whom they traded, taking home tin from Britain, copper from Cyprus, and various products from other places. He believed they traded with Egypt at a very early date, and brought home Egyptian wares of various kinds, such as porcelain and metals. These they imitated and carried to the Italian coast, by which means they got into the Greek market, and so they laid the foundation of ornamental art. No doubt the Greeks improved very rapidly on the metals they got from the Phœnicians. This the lecturer illustrated by a Greek figure and one exhumed at Sidon. Finally, he said, we must not give up anticipating the discovery of Phœnician relics in England. He thought it possible to find traces of

them by examining more tumuli, and by applying modern philology to the names of the promontories, harbours, &c. along this coast. It was a most interesting inquiry to determine whether or not the Phœnicians came to Britain.

Professor WILLIS said that the subject which he had to bring before the notice of the meeting was the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey.¹ Now these remains were the disjointed fragments of a large abbey church; and although few and far between, still there was sufficient left to enable any architect or person accustomed to these fabrics to restore the church upon its original plan. The building itself was nearly the length of Wells Cathedral, arranged according to the ordinary type, with a nave, transept, and a square choir or presbytery at the east end. At the west end of the church was a remarkable chapel. This chapel was in the transition style of Norman architecture, having pointed arches mixed with circular, and had been subsequently connected with the western end of the church by a portion in pure Early English of the ordinary type, the west front of the great church being in the same style. From the remains he perceived the conducting of the building of that church very closely resembled that of the cathedral of Wells, which he had had the pleasure of explaining to the members of the Archaeological Institute in the year 1851. This church of Glastonbury, which they might suppose to have been commenced from the east, beginning in a transition Norman style at this end, was carried gradually on towards the west with a remarkable persistence in that style, so that by the time they came to the west end the style of building everywhere else had completely changed, as at Wells. When the builders came to the west front they suddenly adopted the ordinary Early English style, which had then got into fashion, resembling Salisbury Cathedral, and the west front of Wells. The Professor had already remarked that, adjoining this west end was a small chapel of semi-Norman style, usually known as the chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea. There were several reasons which induced him to investigate as closely as he could the history of this remarkable combination of a chapel at a short distance from the church. The church itself was very remarkable for its connection with the legends and histories of the middle ages, and the veneration which was then paid to the relics of saints. He should allude to the early traditions affecting the church, by referring to the ancient records upon the subject, without pretending to place them before his hearers as real history. These traditions were collected for the first time by William of Malmesbury, who was well known as an early English historian and the author of the two histories "The Deeds of the Kings" and "The Deeds of the Bishops." He also wrote a tract concerning Glastonbury; and that he was the identical man who wrote these three histories was proved by himself, alluding, in his account of the Saxon times, to his own tract written expressly upon Glastonbury Abbey.

The Professor then gave an account of the tradition which asserted that, in the year 63 of the Christian era, the Apostles, St. Philip and St. John, whilst preaching in France, sent twelve of their disciples into Britain for the same purpose, amongst whom was Joseph of Arimathea. The King and his barbarian people rejected these missionaries, but rather than send

¹ This lecture, greatly enlarged, and with several illustrations, has been published by Messrs. Bell and Daldy, Fleet Street.

them away altogether, granted them the right of remaining in the wild, uncultivated island of Avallonia. On this island they constructed a church for their religious exercises, under the inspiration of the Archangel Gabriel, by whose direction they built the walls of twisted osiers. These twelve men lived here as hermits, residing separately; and at last, dying gradually off, the place then became solitary and infested by wild beasts. About a century after this, in the year 166, Pope Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, King of the Britons, sent two missionaries, who baptized the King and his people. In the course of their progress through the country they came to this island, and found the church down among the forest, and they perceived it had been built by Christians; afterwards they found by visions that it had been miraculously dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This second body of missionaries elected twelve of their converts who remained here as hermits, and hearing that the pagan kings had granted twelve portions of land to the first missionaries, applied for and were granted similar privileges. This number was from that time maintained by continual re-election when deaths occurred, and the system continued until the Irish apostle, St. Patrick, visited the spot, about 300 years afterwards. These anchorites restored the church, and built a stone oratory to Christ, St. Peter, St. Paul, &c., and the place became an object of pilgrimage, not only for the neighbouring population, but also for the just and learned men of the time. St. Patrick returned from a successful mission to Ireland in 433 A.D., and remained at Glastonbury 39 years, when in the year 472 he died and was buried in the old church, and remained there for 710 years, till the church was consumed by fire. St. David, the saint of Wales, came and built another church at the eastern end of the old church, which he also dedicated to the Virgin. St. Paulinus, well known as Bishop of Rochester, and the earliest Archbishop of York, covered the old wicker-work church with boards and lead, so that it was preserved and taken care of, and cherished as the first Christian church erected in Britain, with the especial name of the "Vetusta Ecclesia" or "Old Church," in contradistinction to the "Major Ecclesia," or Great Church, which was first founded by King Ina, c. 700, and stood to the east of the "Vetusta Ecclesia." Besides these personages there was a long list of other saints interred within the walls of the church. Ina's church remained in all its splendour up to the time of King Alfred (A.D. 872), when it was desolated by the Danes, who at that time ravaged the country; but about a century after it was rebuilt by Dunstan by the order of King Edmund the Elder, and a regular Benedictine monastery, the first in England, was established there, after which it flourished until the time of the Normans. Still, at the time of the Conquest, we find the two churches, called the Old Church and the Great Church, and separate from each other, and of which the first stood to the west of the second.

He came now to the period succeeding the Norman Conquest, when the Normans condemned the Great Church and commenced erecting another. After the death of the third Abbot the abbey remained in the hands of King Henry the Second for many years, and during that time, in 1184, a fire happened in the monastery, which consumed not only the church and the rest of the building, but also its ornaments and treasures, and, as William of Malmesbury informed them, the greater part of the relics. Speaking of the lesser church, or Old Church, dedicated to the Virgin, as he had stated, the learned Professor showed that the modern opinion that

the Lady Chapel stood on the north side of the abbey choir was founded simply on a misinterpretation of a sentence in Leland. In the chronicle of John of Glastonbury, dated 1493, it is confidently asserted that the burial-place of Joseph of Arimathea was in the cemetery of the old wicker church opposite to the south angle. In the fifteenth century great care was taken to preserve the tradition of the wicker church and Joseph of Arimathea's burial there, and a pillar was set up to mark its boundary, where he and a multitude of saints were said to be buried. Persons considered it a great honour to be buried in this spot, and paid high prices to procure burial in it, thus showing the great devotion which was entertained for Joseph of Arimathea.

Professor Willis next referred to William of Worcester, who went about for his own pleasure throughout England in the fifteenth century, and preserved notes of the dimensions of the great churches. His notebook was deposited in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; it contained the traveller's notes, just as he scribbled them on the spots which he visited. William of Worcester states that the chapel of the blessed Virgin was contemninous with the nave of the church, being about 34 yards long and 8 yards wide, and on either side were large windows. He (Professor Willis) inferred from this that the whole structure had then been thrown into one large chapel before the time when William of Worcester was conducted into it in the year 1478. But the more important point was, William proceeds to state, that at the south angle of this Lady Chapel Joseph of Arimathea was buried. Thus the identity of the semi-Norman chapel, now known as St. Joseph's Chapel, with the site of the ancient wicker church, or Old Church, is completely proved, and also that this very chapel was the Lady Chapel of the abbey. For these notes of William of Worcester show that in the fifteenth century, when visitors were conducted into this church, they were shown this Lady Chapel, with the grave of Joseph of Arimathea at the south angle. They needed no further evidence to show that the stone church, called St. Joseph's Chapel, the ruins of which they at present saw, was on the traditional site of the so-called first church erected in Britain. The Professor found historical notices that gave dates of nearly every part of the Great Church. The building of the church after the fire in 1184 had been carried on by the *camerarius* of King Henry, who first completed the Lady Chapel, or Old Church, and then began the Great Church, which he nearly completed. But the King died before the work was finished, and he was succeeded by Richard the First, who, being fond of war, neglected the rebuilding of the church, and, having no money to pay the workmen, the restoration was suspended for a long time. The abbey fell into the hands of an abbot who neglected it; and the monks, having no funds to carry on the work which King Henry had begun, set about to raise the bodies of the saints and to place them in shrines, whilst they sent preachers through the country with relics and pontifical indulgences, which attracted attention to the church and brought in a considerable amount of money to their funds. William of Malmesbury relates that "immediately after a fire the monks suddenly recollected the tradition that after the Danish sack of Canterbury in 1012 the body of St. Dunstan, there buried, had been brought away from the ruins by a body of their own monks, who esteemed the remains of the saint, and brought them to Glastonbury, where they laid them in a hole which nobody knew of save two of their own fraternity." The secret was transferred from one to another in succession as the possessors of it

died, until this great fire consumed the church in 1184, and money was required, when suddenly the monks recollected where the body was hidden. They dug for it, and, what was still more wonderful, they found it. King Henry the Second had learnt from the Welsh bards that the body of King Arthur had also been buried near the Old Church between two pyramids, which had been set up to his memory. In 1189 the Abbot of Glastonbury now made a search for these remains, and, after digging down 16 ft. into the ground, they came to a wooden coffin, which was found to contain the bones of a gigantic man, so large—the legend said—that when the bone of his leg was set upon the ground it reached up to the middle of the thigh of a man of great stature, standing. They also found a leaden plate, with the inscription showing that it was the coffin of King Arthur. These bones were raised and deposited in a marble sarcophagus within the choir; and in 1276 King Edward visited Glastonbury and ordered them to be placed before the high altar, where they were seen and mentioned by Leland. The history of the Great Church was very fragmentary after 1303, but supplied a series of excellent dates.

Professor Willis proceeded to describe the various parts of the church, which he pointed out with reference to these dates by aid of colored plans and drawings; and he observed that after the Dissolution the property passed through various hands, and finally came into the possession of Mr. Reeves, about 1825, who took great care to preserve the old ruined church; it had subsequently come into the possession of an equally enlightened man, Mr. Austin, who, he felt quite sure, would always endeavour to keep it in the best state of repair, although the edifice was now beyond the possibility of architectural restoration. He then explained, by comparing the ruins with the documents, the exact nature of the additions and changes which had been made in the Lady Chapel from its first foundation in 1184 to the period of the Dissolution, and showed that the crypt of the Lady Chapel was entirely a construction of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and that there was no ground for supposing that any crypt had previously existed under it. It was simply a burial vault, constructed by the monks to enable them to profit by the desire of the devotees of the period to obtain sepulture in the neighbourhood of Joseph of Arimathea. Being partly constructed with Norman materials, probably obtained from one of the monastic buildings, which at that period, as we learn from the chronicles, were undergoing an entire re-building, this crypt had been hastily assumed to be older than the chapel itself.

In the interval between the morning and evening meetings, a section of the Institute availed themselves of the invitation of Mr. E. J. Weld to visit Lulworth Castle, where they were entertained at luncheon; and on their way back they visited the remains of the Cistercian Abbey of Bindon, which is of the twelfth century; they consist of little more than the foundations, but these have been carefully cleared of earth and left exposed, so that the plan of the abbey is laid out as on a map.

Another party visited Cerne, under the guidance of the Rev. C. W. Bingham. After inspecting the magnificent Abbey Church, a part of which is now occupied by a farmhouse, with fine remains of the old barn or granary, they proceeded to the church and the remains of the abbey, where much discussion took place as to the probable site of its various buildings, and their relation to what still exists.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON occupied the chair at the evening meeting. The

Rev. F. MOULE communicated some particulars relating to Fordington Church, its architecture, and the relics of antiquarian interest which it contains. Mr. E. A. FREEMAN gave a lecture on the churches of Wimborne and Milton. The former, he observed, was founded in the year 718 by Cuthberga, a sister to King Ina, and the latter by King Ethelstan about the year 933.

August 5.

EXCURSIONS TO CORFE CASTLE, WAREHAM, CANFORD MANOR, AND
WIMBORNE MINSTER.

The members of the Institute and their friends proceeded by special train to Wareham, and thence in carriages to Corfe Castle.

When the party had passed through the first gatehouse, Mr. Parker explained that they were then standing in the lower ward, respecting the building of which there were accounts going on from the time of Edward I. to that of Edward III. The second gatehouse, which was of the time of Edward I., had been blown up by Cromwell, and one half had slidden down into the foss about ten feet below the other, a very curious circumstance, and as this had not destroyed the masonry it was evidently of very superior workmanship. All the walls of the lower keep were undoubtedly Edwardian. He then pointed above to the portion of the Norman keep, with the annex which had been added, though he was sorry to differ from Mr. Bond, as he did not think the keep was so early as the time of the Conqueror. His impression was that the keep was built in the time of Henry I., and the annex in that of Henry II. He could not put it earlier, because of the ashlar work. Documentary evidence being slight, they must judge of these buildings by others whose dates were ascertained. There were examples of the time of the Conqueror, but of much more rude construction; the earliest being that of Malling Castle, Rochester, built by Bishop Gundulph. The castles of the Norman barons themselves at the time of the Conquest were earthworks and wood, and it was not till the twelfth century that there were any walls entirely faced with ashlar. The wall connecting the Edwardian gatehouse with the Norman, had been ascertained from the Pipe Roll to have been built in the 20th year of Henry III., and was mentioned as taking the place of the wooden palisades previously in use.

A move was next made to another part, which Mr. Parker said was the earliest portion of the castle. He pointed out the herringbone-work in a part of the wall. The examples, whose date was known, were of the eleventh century, but this was a sort of rude work that might have been built at any time. It was simply an ingenious kind of contrivance for adapting the work to the material. The only question was, whether it might not have been of the tenth century. When the murder of Edward the Martyr took place, there was a royal residence here, and as it is only fifty years previous to the eleventh century, the work in question might be of that date. It is cased on the exterior by regular masonry of the thirteenth century, which blocks up the original small windows. It appeared to him not improbable, that this wall belonged to a Saxon dwelling here, not a stone castle, although it was protected by earthworks and palisades. The herringbone-work was, perhaps, a part of this ancient dwelling-house. He then referred to the "Boutavant," or projecting tower in this part of the

ruins. Proceeding to the side in the direction of Wareham, he pointed out the three gateways, protecting the castle on that side, of the time of Henry III. or Edward I., and leading up to the keep of the same date. It had been destroyed, but enough remained to tell what it was. They could see the remains of the grand staircase which led up to the keep, and was carried on arches, and he pointed out where the chapel might have been. The upper part of the tower was of quite different masonry, being the work of Sir Christopher Hatton, in the reign of Elizabeth, when considerable alterations were made. Further on he pointed out the fourth gate, at an angle of the keep, protecting that part of the building in which were the royal apartments, partly of the time of Henry III., and partly of Edward I. This was called the "Gloriette," a name frequently seen in the descriptions of castles, and appearing to mean nothing more than the state apartments. He then directed attention to what was called the Cockayne tower, and showed that in this part there was a chapel of the thirteenth century, in addition to that in the keep, an arrangement similar to that at Windsor. Here also was the great hall, as might be seen by the marks left of the vault in the wall. In this place also was one of the castle wells. The party then ascended the Norman keep, where Mr. Parker pointed out the remains of the bulwark, and other distinguishing peculiarities.

A vote of thanks having been accorded to Mr. Parker, the party then returned to Wareham. There is an old tradition that Wareham once had seventeen churches, but only one, that of St. Mary, is now used for service. This is, however, a very commodious building, and no doubt originally possessed much architectural beauty, but the interior at least was some years ago almost entirely spoilt by the bad taste in which the restoration was carried out. A very interesting leaden font with bold designs was noticed at the west end; but the feature which attracted most attention was what the Rev. C. W. Bingham termed the remarkable Runic inscription on a stone inserted in the east end of the north aisle. He did not think it was *in situ*, but built in there upside-down. No one having solved the problem, Mr. Bartlett the Town Clerk, handed to Mr. Bingham the following as an interpretation which had been made some few years ago by a gentleman then in Wareham:—"Catug, or Catocus (who came to Britain about 403 with Germanus to withstand the Pelagian heresy), dedicated to God Augustin Ansii. Catug Cadugan." Mr. Parker called attention to the chapel or crypt at the end of the south aisle, where he said would be seen two fine effigies of the Stoke family, of the time of Henry III. and Edward I. At the south-east angle of the chancel there was likewise a very small and curious chapel of the fifteenth century; a monument to the memory of Hutchins, the Dorset topographer; and some ancient inscribed and seemingly monumental stones, the inscriptions on which the Rev. W. Barnes holds to be British. Upon one of them is the word **ENNIEL** in capital letters; then a dot and an **F.**, where the stone is broken off.

The party afterwards returned to the railway station, and proceeded by special train to Wimborne. At the station the Rev. Prebendary Onslow, the Incumbent of Wimborne Minster, was in attendance to receive the members of the Institute; they proceeded first to Canford Manor.

A visit to this splendid specimen of the work of Sir Charles Barry had not been included in the original arrangements, but was made in compliance with a most cordial invitation from the owner, Sir Ivor Bertie Guest, Bart. Several vehicles were in readiness to convey the members to

the Hall, but many of the visitors preferred the walk by the Stour. The party, which now numbered altogether between two and three hundred, were received by Sir Ivor in the grand entrance gallery, and were afterwards conducted into the magnificent hall, where luncheon was laid out. Sir Ivor took the head of the table, supported by the Marquis Camden and the Hon. Mrs. W. Ashley, there being also among those present, Lord Neaves, Lady Charlotte Schreiber, Mr. Schreiber, and the Misses Guest, Sir Richard Kirby, Sir J. P. Boileau, the Hon. W. Ashley, Sir W. C. Medleycott, Sir Stephen Glynne, Mr. Floyer, M.P., Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., &c.

Before the company separated, Mr. BERESFORD HOPE begged to propose a toast. Seldom, he might say, and still more seldom perhaps in so unique and magnificent a hall, had this Institute partaken of such hospitality as on that occasion; never had they been more hospitably received, and never more bountifully and more in keeping with the *genius loci*. Many times had the healths of distinguished archaeologists been proposed; many a time had the health of the hostess of the day been given. But here in Canford he believed for the first time in the annals of the Archaeological Institute he had to propose the health of a most distinguished archaeologist, and at the same time of the hostess of the day. What Lady Charlotte Schreiber had done—her deep-labour of love in illustrating that mysterious and interesting literature of Wales—they all knew. He confessed for himself with shame that his acquaintance with that literature was only an outside one; it was only as coupled with general literature that he knew how much Lady Charlotte in this respect had done. Lord Neaves, however, as a Scotchman, could speak more to the point. He (Mr. Hope), however, asserted that all honour and glory should be given to a lady who had come forward in this way to rescue from oblivion the literature of a people, whose peculiar circumstances have preserved to them their independent nationality, whilst they enjoy the advantage of being incorporated with a powerful but thoroughly antagonistic nation.

LORD NEAVES, remarking on the beauty of Canford House, said one part of it was called the kitchen of John of Gaunt, "time-honoured Lancaster," and he thought, considering the connection John of Gaunt had with this house, as well as with English history, he might claim their sympathy in proposing a toast to his memory. John of Gaunt's memory deserved this tribute at their hands, he being the patron of the great English poet Chaucer, who in his "Canterbury Tales" has immortalized the language which belonged more to this part of England than to any other. Chaucer, in his descriptions of the things in those times, has mentioned a franklin, in whose house he said "it snowed meat and drink." For such hospitable purposes John of Gaunt's kitchen was established. They (the company) had been most fortunate in escaping showers of another kind that day, but since they had entered Canford House, there had descended upon them bountiful showers of a most reviving kind. He begged therefore to propose in connection with this hospitable mansion, that they should drink to the memory of John of Gaunt.

A visit was then made to the Nineveh marbles, which were presented to Lady Charlotte Schreiber by Mr. Layard, when Mr. Beresford Hope gave a brief description of them. The company next visited the ancient kitchen, one side of which, Mr. Parker said, was of the time of John of Gaunt, but the rest was later, and probably of the time of Henry VII.

The party then left Canford House, and proceeded to Wimborne, where Mr. E. A. Freeman gave a lecture on the Minster.

After a short time the party took their way to the station, where a special train awaited them. They started at six, and reached Dorchester shortly before seven.

A *conversazione* was held in the Museum at 9 o'clock.

August 6.

This being Sunday, the Lord Bishop of Salisbury preached, both morning and evening, at Holy Trinity Church, Dorchester. In his sermons his Lordship expatiated on the advantages of archæology. It was, he remarked, very often considered that archæologists merely looked at the outside of things, and that they were investigators of the dry bones of history, but this was a mistake, and he showed how very advantageous their investigations might be for the interests of society, and summed up by saying that by the study of the past we advanced the interest of the present, and that we knew how to make use of it for the benefit of the future. That was the purpose of archæology, not merely for examining the records and buildings, however interesting they might be to archæologists or historians, but to serve a higher purpose. Through that science they understood how the institutions of society had grown up, compared them with the present, and looked forward to the improvements which might be effected in the future through the study of archæology.

August 7.

Mr. E. SMIRKE presided, when a paper by Mr. E. HAWKINS, F.S.A., Vice-President of the Archæological Institute, was communicated on the "Ancient Mints in the County of Dorset." On the establishment of the Saxon rule a coinage commenced, bearing the name of the prince by whose authority it was issued, and that of the moneyer to whom he committed the privilege of striking it, and, after some time, was added the name of the place where it was minted. Ethelstan is the first of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs who seems to have ordained laws for the regulation of the coinage. In Dorset there were four places where in early times coins were minted, viz., Dorchester, Bridport, Shaftesbury, and Wareham. No coins, however, were known to collectors as having been minted at Dorchester earlier than the reign of Ethelred II., 978 to 1016. After noting the early celebrity of Bridport as a place where hemp and flax were manufactured, he remarked that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there appeared to be a mint there with one moneyer. At Shaftesbury in the time of Ethelstan there were two moneyers, and during the reign of the Confessor three. Wareham had two moneyers in the reign of Ethelstan, and two in the time of William the Conqueror. In conclusion, he expressed a hope that fresh information would be drawn forth from the local antiquary or collector.

A paper by Mr. J. FARRAR, F.S.A., on "Roman Villas, recently discovered in Chedworth Wood, Gloucestershire," was next read.

Professor BUCKMAN gave some interesting "Notes on a Saxon Bucket," found at Fairford, and exhibited in the Museum, after which

The Rev. E. VENABLES expressed his regret at the unavoidable absence of the Dean of Chichester, who was to have read a memoir on "The Life of

Cardinal Morton." Dr. Hook had sent the paper, of which he read some interesting portions.

A valuable communication, "Wareham: the Age of its Walls," was sent by the eminent Dorset antiquary, Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A., who was unfortunately absent through illness. (Printed in *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1865, p. 431.)

A paper was contributed by Dr. T. W. W. Smart, on the "Ethelred Brass in Wimborne Minster." (Printed in *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1865, p. 708.) The author being, however, unable to attend,

Mr. J. H. PARKER made some brief remarks on the city of Wells, and the objects of interest to be found in the cathedral, with its adjuncts, which he considered was one of the most perfect in the country. He said that he had obtained permission from the bishop, the dean, and others, to show any person or party over the cathedral and bishop's palace, on Wednesday, if any present would like to accompany him; and he remarked that the palace contained some very fine work of the thirteenth century, surrounded by fortifications of the fourteenth.

At noon a large party started to visit Athelhampton, Milton Abbey, Bingham's Melcombe and Walterston. At Athelhampton, the seat of Mr. G. J. Wood, Mr. BINGHAM gave a brief outline of the history of the house. Mr. PARKER said there was no record who built the old mansion, but from its style he should suppose that it was built by the Martin family, somewhere about the time of Henry VII., and it was one of the finest of those old manor-houses for which the counties of Somerset and Dorset were noted, and of which he had given a short account in his "Domestic Architecture."

The party inspected the numerous objects of interest in the house, amongst which was some very fine tapestry, representing a consular triumph at Rome, and a numerous collection of relics, but being pressed for time they were unable to partake of luncheon courteously provided by Mr. Wood, and they proceeded to Milton Abbey, the seat of Baron Hambro, which was reached after a drive through some of the most varied and beautiful scenery in the county of Dorset. The abbey stands on an eminence, from which very extensive views are obtained. Before proceeding to inspect the interior of the church the company were entertained in the entrance-hall, the Rev. C. W. Bingham having been requested, in the absence of the Baron Hambro, to preside.

After luncheon, the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM briefly returned thanks, and invited as many as were disposed to visit the chapel of St. Catharine, situated on an eminence behind the abbey, and from which a most magnificent view could be obtained. A numerous party then wended their way up the delightful slopes, at the summit of which stands the little chapel.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE described the building, which was in the early Norman style. St. Catharine became a martyr at Alexandria, but her body was said to have been conveyed by angels to Mount Sinai, so that temples on a height were usually dedicated to that saint: of this they would find instances at Abbotsbury, the Isle of Wight, Rouen, and many other places. He afterwards directed attention to the curious decorative tile-pavement of the chancel, which is of early date, the majority of the tiles bearing the arms of St. Clare.

A general move was then made in the direction of Milton Abbey, where Mr. E. A. FREEMAN described the edifice.

In a detached building in the grounds were several fragments of mouldings and ornaments, and on these Mr. PARKER remarked that the fragments showed there were rich and handsome ornaments of the twelfth century in the church. They entirely destroyed those, and put up in their stead the Decorated ornaments. Respecting the grotesque designs, they had been distinctly proved to have been brought over by the crusaders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the great revival of architecture took place. For some reason or other (it was imagined that many believed the end of the world would occur at the completion of a thousand years), there was a great revival in the eleventh century of building in stone. In the twelfth century they had those rich ornaments which were brought from the East. These ornaments were identically the same with those of Syria. The Count de Vogué had published a series of engravings, showing the identity of the designs found in England and France with works found in Syria, and this fact of the copying of ornament from the East was one of the most remarkable pieces of archæological history. But these ornaments belong to the later and richer part of the Norman or Romanesque style, and not to the Gothic. He was satisfied from long study that in the dominions of Henry II. of England the Gothic style had its origin. The earliest pure Gothic building known, the choir of Lincoln, was built by St. Hugh; he was brought over by Henry II. At Witham, in Somersetshire, there was a Carthusian monastery, and there was a church built at the time St. Hugh was abbot, some years before he went to Lincoln. It was distinctly English local work, therefore he brought no workmen with him. There had been many discussions upon this subject. He was at Lincoln when Professor Willis first lectured on it, and declared it to be the work of a mad Frenchman. He confessed a doubt of this at the time, as he had been much in Burgundy. Since then some French antiquaries had seen the work, and pronounced it English, although they doubted the date. His opinion was that it was English, and that the date was true, A.D. 1192—1200.

The party then proceeded to Bingham's Melcombe, their next place of visit. On arriving at this delightful and picturesque little spot, they were first conducted into the fine old residence of Colonel Bingham, in the courtyard of which the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM, acting as the *cicerone*, addressed the company, and said he was sure his brother was exceedingly happy to welcome the members and friends of the Archæological Institute to his ancestral house, and he had thought it appropriate, before entering the rooms, to say a few words to them. The house was one of the best representations of a small country squire's residence of the sixteenth century that he had ever seen. The Binghams had been settled on this spot since 1250 without any break, or deficiency of male heirs. His ancestor was the brother or nephew of Bishop Bingham, and married the heiress of Turberville. From existing documents they had a certain incontrovertible date of the 4th Elizabeth, 1561, since which time only that portion east of the hall had been built, whilst the porch had also been altered. At that time the house consisted of the hall and oriel, within which was a parlour, the passage of the hall leading to the buttery and other offices, cellar, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse, then the dairy, and next the gatehouse and larder. In that arrangement the house still remains. He once more assured them his elder brother was glad to receive them, and to give them an opportunity of seeing their little ancestral mansion-house.

The handsome apartments, with their rich paintings and curious old

heraldic stained windows, were visited and described, and the famous bowling-green, serving as a lawn, and surrounded by a stupendous yew hedge, were all pointed out and admired by those present. After this, the curious little church was visited and described, and a short sketch of its history given by the Rev. C. W. Bingham. The party then started for the return journey, calling on their way at Walterston, which has lately been restored after the conflagration which took place about two years ago. Some of the party took the fine old church of Piddletown on their way.

The party arrived in Dorchester soon after 9 p.m., when a *conversazione* was held in the Museum.

August 8.

At half-past nine the Meeting of the Members was held in the Council Chamber, the MARQUIS CAMDEN presiding.

The Annual Report of the Central Committee of the Institute was then read by Mr. C. TUCKER, as follows:—

In their accustomed retrospect of the progress of the Institute and the extension of archæological science during the year that has elapsed since the pleasurable gathering at Warwick, your Committee has on the present occasion much cause for satisfaction, mingled, however, with painful regret. At the successful termination of the proceedings of our last meeting on the banks of Avon, we separated with the cheering anticipation that we should next assemble at the ancient *Durnovaria*, under the auspices of our early and kind friend the Earl of Ilchester, now, alas, no more. The loss of one of the first and most constant patrons of the Society had, under any circumstances, proved a cause of deep regret, but especially when we looked forward to his genial influence, and high attainments in archæological pursuits, as ensuring the successful issue of a meeting to be held in his county, and over which he had promised to preside. The Society will not fail to bear in remembrance the most kind consideration of our own excellent President, in consenting, on such an emergency, to supply the place of the noble friend whom we have lost, and to hasten from the recent exertions and success of the Kentish archæologists, marshalled under his guidance at Hever, in order to confer upon the Institute, in a distant county, the cheering continuance of that favor which the noble Marquis so largely bestowed upon us in his own.

In their last Annual Address your Committee hailed with satisfaction the continued evidence of royal patronage to the Institute, and the distinction conferred upon us by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. They would now advert with very grateful feelings to fresh marks of the gracious consideration of Her Majesty, and the assurance thus afforded that the Queen is pleased to extend her favor towards an institution which, in its tendency to promote the knowledge of the arts and of national monuments, had won the patronage and encouragement of her lamented Consort. At the present meeting the Prince of Wales has enriched our Museum by the exhibition of two of the choicest golden relics of the earlier period of British antiquity. They were found near Padstow, in Cornwall, a few weeks since, and belong to H.R.H. as Duke of Cornwall, in virtue of those ancient regal franchises conveyed by royal charter to the Black Prince. The golden gorgets, so rarely found except in Ireland, were laid before the Institute at their last

meeting in London, and, by the special permission of the Prince, they have been entrusted for the gratification of the assembled archæologists at Dorchester. The Committee cannot omit to recognise on this occasion the obliging intervention of their valued friend Mr. Smirke, Vice-Warden of the Stannaries, in bringing to our knowledge this precious treasure-trove.

The year now passed has been memorable for several discoveries and excavations of ancient sites of more than ordinary importance. Amongst these must rank first the extensive investigations on the site of the great Roman city *Calleva Atrebatum*, made by the Duke of Wellington, and carried out under direction of the Rector of Strathfieldsaye, the Rev. J. G. Joyce. Many of our members will recall with pleasure their visit to Silchester during the Annual Meeting at Oxford, in 1850, and the examination of the site, aided by the survey and plan specially prepared for the Institute by Mr. McLauchlan, and published in our Journal. They must have viewed the remains with a strong desire for such an effectual exploration as that which the Duke has now caused to be made. The traces of considerable buildings have been discovered, and there can be no doubt that His Grace's well-directed examinations of the site will be productive of many valuable results. Mr. Joyce's report on the progress of this great work has lately been submitted to the Society of Antiquaries. In addition to the discoveries made in Gloucestershire on a large area full of Roman remains, on Mr. Lawrence's estates near Andoverford, some important remains of buildings of the same period, with mosaic floors of remarkable beauty, have been disinterred on the property of the Earl of Eldon, in the same county. In regard to the vestiges of pre-Roman races, if not of the earliest occupants of the British Islands, we may specially invite attention to the excavations of grave-mounds in the North Riding of Yorkshire, carried out with unusual care by the Rev. William Greenwell, of Durham, and productive of many highly-interesting results, which he has communicated to the Institute for publication in our Journal. The extensive early cemeteries, moreover, discovered at Helmingham, in Suffolk, by the Rev. George Cardew, may well claim notice, as presenting certain facts of very novel character in connection with remote periods.

Besides these and some other explorations of minor importance, of which the particulars have been made known to us at the London meetings of the Institute, there have been during the last session communications of unusual interest. We may particularly advert to the graceful discourse by Professor Westmacott, at our December meeting, relating to the beautiful statue lately obtained for the British Museum, known as the *Diadumenus*, possibly a replica of the celebrated sculpture by Polyclethus. A subject of very curious enquiry was brought forward on another occasion by Mr. G. W. Hemans, who had disinterred on the coast of Essex, in course of the reclamation of a submerged district, massive masonry with relics, which seem undoubtedly to indicate the lost site of the great maritime station *Othona*, an important post in the decline of Roman power. A notable instance was here presented of the valuable services which may frequently be afforded to archæological science in the course of the extensive public works, which may often reveal facts of much historical importance. To the constant kindness of General Lefroy the Institute has been indebted for very instructive notices of the chambered mounds in Ireland at New Grange and Dowth, and of the mysterious incised markings upon the massive stones used in their construction, analogous, as some have imagined, to the

circular incisions on the rocks of the Cheviots, brought before us by the late Duke of Northumberland. General Lefroy has also given us a description of an unique subterranean stronghold, of unknown antiquity, in Stirlingshire, and of certain remarkable relics from Northern India, which appear to indicate an infusion of Greek art, at a very early time. Several communications relating to the ancient cities of the Troad have been made through Mr. Greaves by Mr. Frank Calvert, and especially a Greek inscription of valuable character found at Sestos, on the Hellespont.

The much-vexed question of treasure trove was brought before us in an able discourse by Mr. Godfrey Faussett, great grandson of one whose name will always be held in honoured remembrance, as founder of the precious Kentish collection, rejected by the Trustees of the British Museum, and preserved for our country through the good taste and spirit of Mr. Joseph Mayer, of Liverpool. Mr. Faussett placed before us the present state of the law, and the remedies which may be proposed to obviate the existing evils in regard to archæological research, of which the destruction of the great hoard of gold ornaments at Lewes is probably the most memorable, and latest, instance. It is, however, satisfactory to be assured, through the returns for which Sir Clarke Jervoise has periodically moved in Parliament, that in all cases in which the finder, recognizing the ancient rights of the Crown, has brought coins or other treasure trove, he has received full compensation from the Treasury, and the objects discovered have been secured for the British Museum or for other purposes of public instruction.

At the concluding meeting of the members in London, early in July, a very interesting relation was given by our early friend, Mr. Charles Newton, of the incidents of a ride taken by him, not many weeks since, from Ephesus to Budrum, whither he was bound on the part of the British Museum, to complete certain explorations on the sites to which public attention has been attracted through Mr. Newton's researches at the ruined tomb of Mausolus. The archæologist must cordially hail the increasing stimulus given of late to the examination of ancient remains in the East. The survey of Jerusalem and the immediate neighbourhood, undertaken under the most favourable conditions by Captain Wilson, R.E., and with the direction of Sir Henry James, director of the Ordnance Survey, has probably given the chief impulse to that enterprise, replete with the promise of important results, namely, the investigation of all the ancient sites in Palestine invested with such deep interest in connection with sacred and historical associations.

The Committee has not thought it advisable to resume the practice of forming special exhibitions in London, illustrative of certain sections of the history of art, as had been done in former years with considerable success in the spacious apartments in Suffolk Street, which they had been compelled to relinquish. On the decease, however, of our lamented friend Mr. Winston, a desire had been strongly expressed that the members of the Institute and others who appreciated his labours in regard to the art of glass-painting in the Middle Ages, might be permitted to inspect the entire series of his admirable drawings of examples of painted glass, previously to their being deposited, in accordance with his last wish, in the British Museum. The assent of Mrs. Winston, his relict, was most kindly given, and, by the courteous liberality of the Arundel Society, arrangements were made for the exhibition of the drawings in their rooms, at the close of March. The opportunity thus for the first time afforded of examining the

collection of these reproductions of designs of painted glass, was warmly appreciated by a large number of persons interested in the special branch of mediæval art which Mr. Winston had successfully laboured to illustrate. Mr. Gambier Parry, whose proficiency in all subjects of this nature is well known, especially through his remarkable works of decoration on the ceiling of the cathedral at Ely, where Mr. Parry has lately completed the undertaking so artistically commenced by the late Mr. Lestrange, undertook to deliver a discourse on the art and artists of glass-painting, with special reference to the drawings by Mr. Winston, nearly 800 in number, which were displayed, as far as practicable, in chronological series, the arrangement being under the kind direction of Mr. Oldfield, Mr. Charles Tucker, and Professor Delamotte.

The retrospect of the past year, presenting as it does so many features of encouragement, has been chequered by unusually heavy losses amongst our most valued supporters. The tribute of deep regret has already been recorded to the memory of our excellent friend Lord Ilchester, who, to the latest days of his life, sought every occasion to promote the interests of our assembly in his county, to be held under his auspices. A more painful calamity, however, not only to our Society, of which he was amongst the earliest members, but to all the interests of science and philanthropy, has befallen us in the death of the Duke of Northumberland. It would be difficult to recapitulate as they deserve all the services rendered to archæology during his long life of active interest in the promotion of all researches in quest of historical truth. The importance of his later works, the surveys of the Roman Wall, and of all the great vestiges of the early occupants of the northern counties, carried out by Mr. Maclauchlan, we have, through His Grace's favour, constantly had occasion to appreciate; the results of each successive exploration during the last fifteen years having, by the Duke's kind consideration, been brought before the Institute immediately on its achievement. At the Annual Meeting of the Society at Winchester, in 1845, when the first of those instructive local museums was organised which have drawn forth such treasures of antiquarian evidence, the project received the warm approval of His Grace (then Lord Prudhoe), and it must be ever gratefully remembered that he liberally enriched the collection then formed at the Deanery, in Winchester, with the extensive assemblage of precious relics discovered on his estates at Stanwick, Yorkshire, relics almost unique in the late Celtic peculiarities of their character. At a subsequent time His Grace, with noble generosity, placed that collection in the hands of the Committee, as the medium of its presentation to the British Museum, with the special view of stimulating the Trustees to organize a collection of early British and other national antiquities, which had so long been desired in our great National Depository.² In contemplating the highly-instructive collection now there arranged under the efficient care of Mr. Franks, it must not be forgotten that the impulse which determined the establishment of the British Room was chiefly due to the intelligent interest in the promotion of archæology which was constantly evinced by the noble Patron whose loss we so deeply deplore.

There are, however, other valued coadjutors, whom we have lately lost,

² His Grace's generous donation of the Stanwick Antiquities presented to the British Museum through the medium of

the Institute is noticed *Gent. Mag.* Jan. 1846, p. 75.

long-trying friends now no more. Amongst them is our venerable East Anglian friend Mr. Hudson Gurney, the Nestor of archæology, and the zealous promoter of the meeting at Norwich, one of the earlier of our annual gatherings, and who to the latest period of his very advanced life took a lively interest in the proceedings of our Society. The sudden death of Mr. Charles Winston threw a deep shade over all who had enjoyed the pleasure of knowing him. His remarkable intimacy with all the *arcana* of the once beautiful art of glass-painting, his peculiar skill in reproducing rare specimens, his exertions to revive the art, and his critical powers in discoursing upon it, will cause his decease to be long deplored. His contributions to the Journal have been numerous and most valuable. The Institute will gratefully recall the exertions made by the late Bishop of Chester, who so kindly and earnestly furthered the interests of the Meeting at Chester. We lament the loss of Mr. Markland, formerly Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and ever foremost in encouragement of our purpose and participation in our proceedings; Archdeacon Burney, an early member of the Committee, and constant promoter of all that could tend to extend the influence of our Society; and our distinguished patron the late Earl of Carlisle, who shared with most genial cordiality in our great gathering in Northumberland and Durham in 1852, and whose welcome at Naworth Castle, in 1859, was worthy of the time-honoured memories of the Border Chieftains. With special regret, moreover, have we to record in this sad category the recent death of our friendly coadjutor Mr. Hartshorne, whose high attainments in several departments of archæology and historical research were only exceeded by the readiness to impart the information which he possessed, and to direct the labours of others in the path where he was ever found so pleasant a guide. Nor must a tribute of esteem and respect be omitted to the memory of Mr. Wentworth Dilke; of two valued friends in North Britain, the amiable Sir John Maxwell, of Polloe, a zealous promoter of our meeting in Edinburgh, and Professor Ramsay, of Glasgow, enrolled amongst our first members. There are others also lately taken from us, whose courtesies or kindly assistance in certain special occasions in our meetings we must bear in grateful remembrance—Mr. Bruce, of Kennet, who placed his precious family heir-looms at our disposal, when we assembled at Edinburgh in 1856; the accomplished Professor Boole, who contributed an unusually interesting discourse in the section of Antiquities, at the Lincoln Meeting, in 1848; Mr. Downing Bruce; also, Mr. Samuel Cartwright, and Mr. William Street, of Reigate.

Amidst so many painful recollections, it is not without consolation that, in the retrospect of the year now elapsed, your Committee made the accession of numerous influential and zealous fellow labourers to the ranks of the Society, and the increasing interest which has on every occasion prevailed in regard to the conservation of national monuments, and the furtherance of all archæological pursuits.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Sir J. P. BOILRAU, and unanimously carried; as was also the Report of the auditors. The customary changes in the Central Committee were then submitted, and the vacancies duly filled up; the auditors for 1865 being also elected. The following were elected members of the Institute:—Lady Smith, Rev. R. B. Oliver, Mr. R. H. Shout, Mr. J. Bain, Mr. J. Floyer, M.P., Ven. Archdeacon Huxtable, Mr. C. Graham, Mr. J. E. Brine, Mr. E. Cunningham, Mr. T. Roger Smith, Mr. J. E. Weld, Mrs. Coombs, Rev. H. E. Ravenhill, Dr.

Aldridge, Mr. R. B. Sheridan, M.P., Mrs. Reginald Smith, Mr. C. Minett, Mr. S. Hansom, Mr. Herbert Williams, Mr. J. Hicks, Mr. O. W. Farrer, Mr. Ralph Neville Grenville, M.P., Mr. F. Pilliter, Miss Barnett, the Town Clerk of Dorchester, and Mr. Williams.

Letters were read by Mr. BURR proposing that the congress should be held in London next year. A resolution to that effect was moved by Mr. A. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P., and seconded by Sir J. P. BOILEAU, who took occasion to mention his gratification at the decision of the meeting last year that the meeting of 1865 should be held in Dorsetshire, for though he had attended many meetings of the Institute, he had never witnessed so great congeniality of feeling as had greeted them in this county. The resolution was unanimously carried. The noble President was unanimously re-elected for the ensuing year.

The general concluding meeting was held at the Town Hall, at half-past ten, when the MARQUIS CAMDEN occupied the chair. Cordial votes of thanks were passed to the Mayor and Corporation of Dorchester, the Lord Bishop and clergy of the diocese, the nobility and gentry of Dorset, the contributors of papers read during the Congress, and of the treasures deposited in the Museum, were suitably acknowledged by Mr. Coombs, the Rev. C. W. Bingham, Mr. J. J. Wood, Col. Pinney, the Rev. W. Barnes, and Mr. E. A. Freeman.

Sir J. BOILEAU rose to make particular mention of the Rev. C. W. Bingham, as a gentleman through whose representations the Institute had met at Dorchester, spoke of the great services he had rendered, and said that wherever and whenever they had made an excursion Mr. Bingham had been the *genius loci*.

After a few words from the MARQUIS CAMDEN, who warmly concurred in the sentiments expressed by Sir J. Boileau, the vote of thanks was cordially adopted.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM said that he had talked so much during the Congress, and was so overwhelmed by their kindness, that he could only say from his heart that he thanked them.

In conclusion, LORD NEAVES moved a vote of thanks to the Marquis Camden for his conduct not only in the chair that day, but for presiding during this most successful meeting of the Institute. A better President they could not have had; he entered into all their views, sympathised with all their feelings, appreciated all those objects which they valued, and accommodated himself to every arrangement made, without in the slightest degree seeming even to exact what was his due. In those respects there could not be one better calculated to secure their respect and affection in discharging the duties imposed upon him.

Mr. A. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P., seconded the resolution. He said that it was a peculiar pleasure as well as a peculiar honor to him to have been called upon to second the motion, because he could put before them the reason why the Marquis Camden occupied the chair as no one else could do. The fact was, the noble lord was a child of that end of England in which he (Mr. Hope) had the honour to live. Lord Camden's life had been passed in the busy duties of the world. He did not believe—the President would correct him if he were wrong—that archaeology had been for the greater portion of Lord Camden's life his peculiar study, though like a good, sensible, and earnest man, no doubt he respected the monuments of antiquity. Fortunately, however, his Lordship became the possessor and

care-taker of a most beautiful remain, Bayham Abbey on the border of Sussex, and also of Beckenham Priory in Kent. Opportunities made men, and Lord Camden might not have been an archaeologist, but that he saw the value of his possessions, and recognised his responsibilities in regard to them. Another event came about. One whose ill health prevented his attending the congress of the Institute, whom they all liked and all respected as one of the most eminent archaeologists of the south-east of England, the Rev. Lambert Larking, founded an archaeological society in Kent, and the lord of Bayham naturally took the chair. Two years ago the Institute rubbed its eyes, woke up, and recollected that within thirty miles of London there was a cathedral, viz., at Rochester. A congress was there decreed, and naturally the President of the very vigorous Kentish society was placed in the chair as a bond of union between the local and general society. Lord Camden's presidency on that occasion made him what he was now, their regular stated President. He was only invited then to preside at that congress, but they liked him so well that they kept him in his chair and put him in the position of head of the Institute, and they meant to keep him there. They saw, therefore, that this was not an ordinary case of a man being complimented by being placed in a certain position. Lord Camden had proved himself equal to the duties of the office, and next year, when the Institute had their great meeting in London, by the kind invitation of our gracious Sovereign, and with the assent of the chief magistrate of London, and when the Institute purposed to decipher the great history of Church and State embodied in the Tower of London, in the palace and abbey of Westminster, the Castle of Windsor, St. Stephen's Chapel, and Eton College, he was sure that Lord Camden would more than prove himself equal to the occasion.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

The MARQUIS CAMDEN said he need scarcely assure them he felt very much the kindness with which they had received the proposition. It had given him great pleasure to visit Dorsetshire; it was a great many years since he had seen Wimborne Minster and Milton Abbey. He was also pleased to see Sherborne Church for the first time, especially under such auspices. With regard to his capacity as President, Lord Neaves and Mr. Beresford Hope had expressed their opinions in much too flattering terms. He could only convey to them his cordial and heartfelt thanks for the kindness he had received on this occasion, as well as at former times, from the members of the Institute. He only hoped that their future meetings might be conducted as agreeably as this at Dorchester. The meeting then separated.

THE MUSEUM.

Happily for the success of this important feature of the Archaeological Institute's Congress, the resident gentry of the county have made diligent researches at various times for the antiquities which Dorset contains, have preserved them with care, and now they courteously responded to the appeal put forth, and forwarded them for exhibition; as a result, the museum presented a particularly rich display of relics of the British and Roman occupation of Dorset and other counties, and various rare articles of *vertu*. The arrangement of the treasures comprised in the museum was admirably adapted to afford instruction to the visitor, and reflected great

credit on the tasteful and skilled curator, Mr. C. Tucker, F.S.A., one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute.

The pre-historic and early British period was well represented by an interesting collection of arrow-heads, hatchets, sling-stones, and celts, with a quantity of flints, all bearing marks of work by the hand of man; these last were found at Bradford Abbas, and shown by Professor Buckman. Other exhibitors in this section were Captain Hall, Mrs. Reginald Smith, Mr. J. W. Bernhard Smith, &c. Next in order were some excellent specimens of what was formerly known as "Kimmeridge coal money," now universally recognised as the refuse of the lathe, and in the examples exhibited by the Rev. H. Moule and Mr. W. Wallace Fyfe, the centre part, upon which the lathe had worked, was clearly shown.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was an exhibitor, and displayed two very remarkable gold ornaments of the early British period recently found near Padstow, Cornwall. They are supposed to be decorations for the hair, and are of crescent shape, weighing respectively 4 oz. 9 dwts., and 2 oz. 2 dwts.

The Roman period was fully illustrated. There were many valuable specimens of ancient pottery, the Samian ware being well exemplified by some nearly perfect objects, shown by Mr. J. Coode and Professor Buckman, and fragments by Mr. J. Floyer, M.P., Mr. B. A. Hogg, the Rev. H. Pigou, of Wyke Regis, Mrs. Reginald Smith; and Mr. W. Wallace Fyfe. Vases, interior wall-plaster with fresco paintings of various colours, fibulæ, armlets, the remains of a necklace found with a skeleton which had a coin in the mouth; glass objects supposed to have been used as hair-pins, &c., appeared in this collection. The bronze period was represented by celts, daggers, spear-heads, &c., contributed by H.M.'s Commissioners of Woods and Forests, by Captain Hall, the Rev. H. Moule, Mr. W. Wallace Fyfe, Mr. W. H. Davis, Mr. G. J. Andrews, and others; the half of a stone mould for casting celts was also shown by Captain Hall. The portion of tessellated decoration discovered in Dorchester gaol, 1854, was also exhibited, and Mr. Pouncey contributed a photograph of another fine example of Roman tessellated pavement. Two cases of Roman remains, from the collection of Mr. Durden, of Blandford, were extremely interesting. These comprised spear-heads, swords, daggers, knives, rings, horse-trappings, including bits and buckles in excellent preservation, personal ornaments, &c., collected chiefly from Hod-hill.² A portion of the roofing of a Roman house, exhumed in the grounds of Dorchester Castle, 1858, was an object of considerable interest. The Rev. R. Wingfield Digby sent a sculptured stone, thirteenth-century work, representing the consecration of the Virgin. This relie was found in an old house at Thornford. Professor Buckman exhibited a remarkably good specimen of a small Saxon bucket, found at Fairford, Gloucestershire, having the bands around it perfect, and also the handle. From Pompeii there was a mirror in excellent preservation, contributed by Mrs. Berthon Preston, and jars and vases from Herculaneum sent by Mr. Colfox.

Among the cinque cento plate, of which there was an attractive show, was a highly-chased Elizabethan salt-stand, exhibited by Mr. F. H. Warren, of Exeter; a standing dial table-clock of the seventeenth century, be-

² These have been largely and ably illustrated in Mr. C. Roach Smith's "*Collectanea Antiqua*."

longing to Mr. W. R. Crabbe; two silver fire-dogs, also seventeenth-century workmanship, sent by Mr. H. Williams; an exquisite miniature flagree looking-glass of the period of Queen Anne, belonging to the Rev. J. Fuller Russell; a fine ivory tankard, sent by the Rev. Parry Hodges, D.D.; a silver sugar-basin with cover of the last century, after the style of Charles I., contributed by Mrs. Reginald Smith; a silver-gilt standing-dish, seventeenth century, and a silver cup, parcel gilt, of the fifteenth century, by the Messrs. Farrer; and a mediæval caudle-cup, sent by the Rev. C. W. Bingham. One of the curiosities exhibited by Mrs. Reginald Smith was a bull clock, said to have formerly belonged to Louis XIV.

The collection of carvings in ivory was very attractive, comprising specimens from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The Rev. J. F. Russell was the exhibitor of a pair of devotional tablets, the carvings upon which represent the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Salutation, and the Offering of the Magi; also a leaf of a similar tablet, c. 1400, the subject carved upon which is the Crucifixion. The Messrs. Farrer were contributors of an antique casket, and devotional tablets, late in the fifteenth century. The carved head of a pastoral staff exhibited by Mr. E. Waterton was also observed with considerable gratification. There were a few excellent enamels, shown by the Messrs. Farrer and the Rev. J. F. Russell. The latter gentleman exhibited among others, an enameled plaque, twelfth century, the subject upon which is the Presentation.

At the upper end of the room was a case of valuable MSS. and books, displayed by the Rev. J. Fuller Russell. Among these were a Missal "*ad usum Sarum*," of the latter half of the fifteenth century, the *Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis*, c. 1425, English work, and a Processionale "*ad usum monasterii Salvatoris de Syon*." These were well illuminated. An object of local curiosity was a pardon under the Great Seal of William III. to John Gould, of Milborne St. Andrews, for killing Benjamin Hayward, at Dorchester; and also a letter, with the autograph of Oliver Cromwell, appointing Stroud Bingham captain of one of the companies of the Protector's foot regiments. This last was exhibited by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, as also were some choice MSS., to which were appended the signatures of Henry VIII., Charles I., and the Protector. Documents bearing the signature of Lord Bacon, and of several celebrated bishops and reformers were also shown. Among the books there was a copy of the first edition, and also of the fourth, of the celebrated letter of Columbus, giving an account of his discovery of America; a copy of the first edition of Milton's "*Paradise Lost*;" and an exposition of the Apocalypse, fourteenth century, illustrated by seventy illuminations, representing the chief subjects contained in the book of Revelation.

Among the gold work, Mrs. Berthon Preston exhibited a magnificent necklace, ear-rings, and pin, found on and near the skeleton of a lady at Pompeii; there were also finger-rings, seals, and fibulæ, from the same ruined city. Messrs. Farrer, of London, exhibited a magnificent pectoral ornament, of fine Italian work, and studded with gems; also a quantity of plate. A case of Roman and mediæval rings, coins, and fibulæ was the united contribution of the Rev. C. W. Bingham, Mrs. Preston, Mrs. Tucker, Mr. H. Williams, Mr. T. E. Biddlecombe, and Mrs. C. Tucker. A silver-gilt pax, and a delicate flagree case

containing a goa stone, were exhibited by Mr. C. Tucker. Messrs. Farrer displayed a crystal cross enclosing relics, and a gold bulla. A splendid collection of lace, ancient and modern, contributed by Mrs. Herbert Williams, was one of the attractive features of the exhibition.

A remarkably fine diptych, by Hans Memling, was contributed to the exhibition by the Rev. J. F. Russell. Upon one leaf was a representation of the Crucifixion, an original composition of miniature-like delicacy; on the other, Joan, the younger daughter of Charles VII., of France, and of Mary of Anjou, kneeling at a prayer-desk, and accompanied by St. John the Baptist. The diptych was executed probably about 1460. In the sky are seen the Eternal Father symbolized as the Ancient of Days, the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and the Blessed Virgin seated on a faldstool, with the crescent moon beneath her feet, and holding on her knees the infant Christ, who raises his tiny hand to bless the kneeling princess, close to whom is an angel, sustaining a shield emblazoned with the arms of Bourbon impaling those of France.

There was an exquisite display of miniatures by Holbein and Petitot among other artists, from the collection of Mr. Bridge, of Piddletrent-hide, including portraits of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Shakespeare, George III., Queen Anne, and other celebrities. Some illustrations of a very remote period were lent by Mr. T. Colfox; these were lacustrine remains from Robenhauseu, lake Pfaffikon, canton of Zürich, Switzerland, procured on the spot in June, 1865. They comprised wood cut from the piles of the lake-dwellings *in situ*, a woven fabric, wheat, fragment of an earthen vessel, part of the jaw of a deer, an apple, nuts, and a celt, or stone axe. An engraving accompanied these relics, giving a representation of a pile village as it is supposed to have existed. A good collection of coins was exhibited by Mr. E. Bascombe. There was a small but valuable display of mediæval arms and armour, including a sword having a russet steel hilt with military trophies and emblems of peace in silver, fifteenth century, belonging to Mr. D. B. Davy, Topham; a Toledo blade, sixteenth century, Mr. W. R. Crabbe; an Eastern sword, probably a headsman's, contributed by Mr. H. Williams, who also sent a group of helmets of the period of Charles I. Finally, corporation records, seals, and regalia from Dorchester, Weymouth, and Bridport were displayed. Among them was the "Domesday Book" of Dorchester, brought to light by Mr. Burt, Secretary of the Institute. It is a Register of documents relating to the town, begun in the fourteenth century, and in excellent condition. From Bridport, among other interesting relics, were, another so-called "Dome-book," A.D. 1452—1817; the account-book of the religious house of St. Michael Bridport, giving the weekly expenditure of the monks, A.D. 1454—1458; and an indulgence of forty days, dated July 5, 1446, granted by the Bishop of Sarum, and ten other bishops, to such as contributed to the repair of Bridport haven. To this document the bishops' seals are affixed, and some of them are in a fine state of preservation.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Dorchester Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Marquis Camden, 5*l.*; A. W. Franks, Esq., 4*l.*; Albert Way, Esq., 2*l.*; C. B. Skinner, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; C. T. Newton, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., 5*l.*; E. Smirke, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; H. C. Sturt, Esq., 5*l.*; Sir E. B. Baker, Bart., 5*l.*; Mitchell Henry, Esq., 5*l.* 5*s.*

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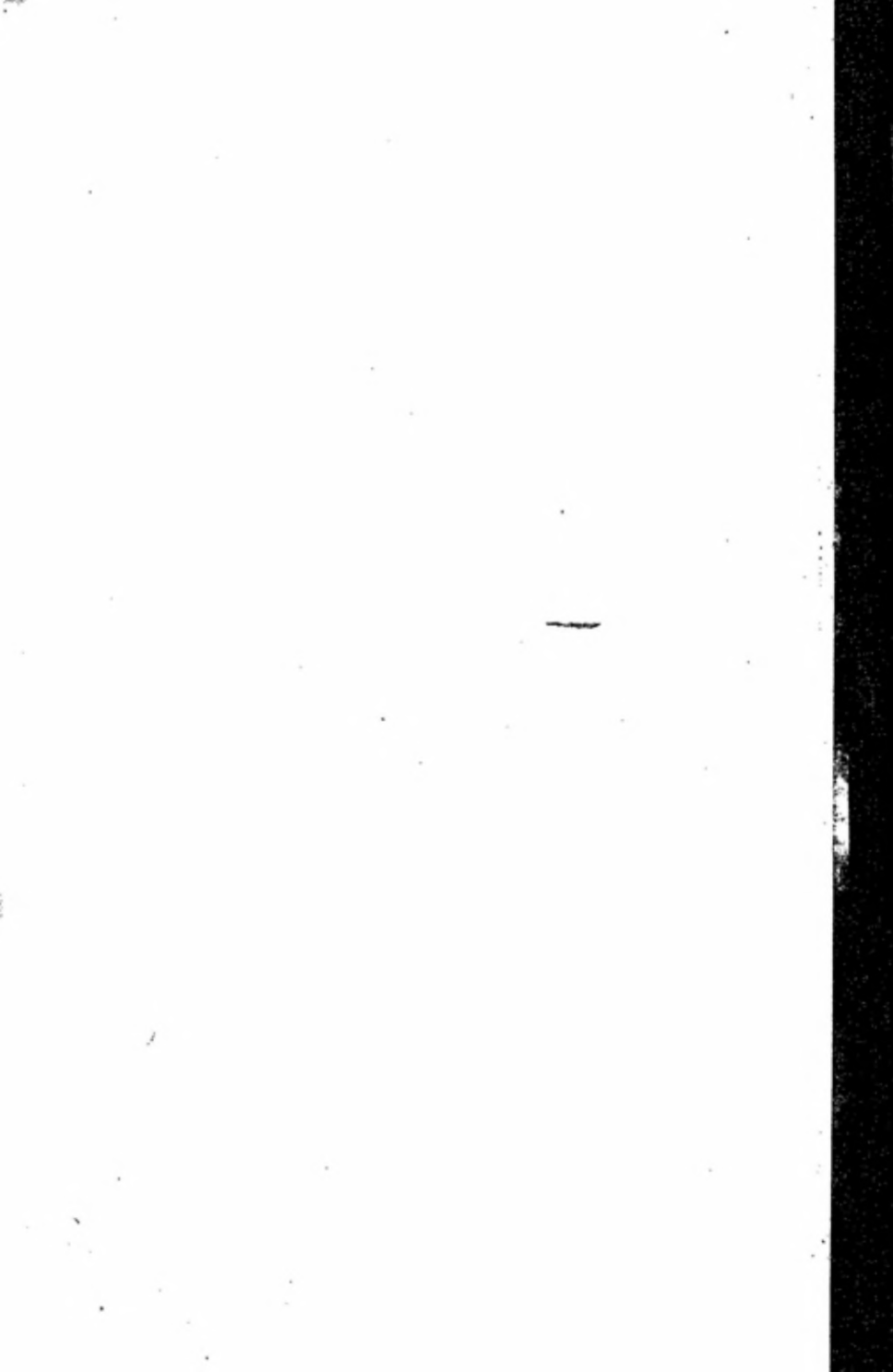
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